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Near East/South Asia Report

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14 JULY 1986

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

- Armenians Organize Protest Marches in Greece, France
(ALIK, 26 Apr 86)..... 1

ARAB AFRICA

MOROCCO

- Commercial Agreement With Egypt Examined
(AL-'ALAM, 28 May 86)..... 3

- Families of Political Prisoners Cite Inhumane Conditions
(AL-'ALAM, 28 May 86)..... 5

SUDAN

- Ba'thist Discusses Tasks Awaiting New Government
('Abdallah al-Safi; AL-DUSTUR, 12 May 86)..... 7

TUNISIA

- Member of Progressive Socialist Grouping Arrested
(AL-RA'Y, 9 May 86)..... 12

- Court Tries Members of Islamic Groups
(AL-SABAH, 1 May 86)..... 13

Tunisian Communist Party Issues Communique (AL-RA'Y, 9 May 86).....	14
Economic Burden of Low-Income Families Examined (AL-SHURUQ, 6 May 86).....	15
Briefs	
Islamic Liberation Party Members Sentenced	18
ARAB EAST/ISRAEL	
IRAQ	
Iran-Iraq War Closeup by Turkish Reporter (Zeynep Kakinc; TERCUMAN, 27 Apr-1 May 86).....	19
ISRAEL	
Rabin Instructs IDF High Command To Discuss Wald Report (HADASHOT, 19 May 86).....	27
General David 'Ivri Interviewed on Lavi Project (BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR, No 50-51, Apr 86).....	31
MK Aharon Abuhatzira Interviewed, Profiled (Aharon Abuhatzira Interview; MA'ARIV, 16 May 86).....	38
New Antiaircraft Electro-Optical Systems (BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR, Apr 86).....	47
Details From Industrial Espionage Cases Disclosed (Tzvi Singer; YEDI'OT AHARONOT, 16 May 86).....	49
Solar Energy Plant Planned To Provide Power in South (HA'ARETZ, 19 May 86).....	57
SOUTH ASIA	
AFGHANISTAN	
Tehran: Moscow Controls DRA Media Programming (Tehran Domestic Service, 21 May 86).....	58
Briefs	
Exhibition Displayed in Rome	59
Mujahidin Down 2 Helicopters	59
IRAN	
Normalization of Relations With France Discussed by Charge (ETTELA'AT, 19 Apr 86).....	60

Paris Paper Views Visit by Mo'ayyeri (Alain Frachon; LE MONDE, 24 May 86).....	62
Discussions on Presidential Duties, Responsibilities Continue (JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI, 28, 30 Apr 86).....	64
Tehran Stresses Role of Majlis on Anniversary (Tehran Domestic Service, 28 May 86).....	67
Tehran Criticizes Thatcher's Israel Visit (Tehran International Service, 29 May 86).....	69
Emigre Paper Comments on Yazdi's Controversial Trip to U.S. (London KEYHAN, 22 May 86)	71
'Violence, Corruption' Said Dominant in Country (London KEYHAN, 22 May 86)	73
Violence at Meeting	73
Corruption Noted	74

PAKISTAN

Regime's Determination To Combat Bhutto Popularity Discussed (Waris Mir; JANG, 18 May 86).....	77
Demand for Early Elections Seen Harmful (Editorial; JASARAT, 28 Apr 86).....	80
Fair Chance for Junejo Administration Urged (Editorial; JANG, 16 May 86).....	82
India Rapped for Objections to Karakoram Highway Opening (JANG, 16 May 86).....	84
Briefs	
Wheat Production Exceeds Target	85

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ARMENIANS ORGANIZE PROTEST MARCHES IN GREECE, FRANCE

Tehran ALIK in Armenian 26 April 86 pp 1, 8

[Text] Athens

A requiem service, organized at the initiative of the office of the prelate and presided over by Archbishop Sahag Ayvazyan, was held at the Armenian monument at Nea Smirni on 24 April 1986 to honor the memory of the martyrs. Over 1,200 persons attended, including the Armenophile mayor of Nea Smirni, who also made a speech. All those who spoke in connection with the anniversary put the accent on the rightful claims of the Armenians.

An hour after the conclusion of the ceremony, a protest demonstration was held at one of the major squares, with the participation of over 1,500 of our kinsmen. The demonstrators marched toward the Turkish Embassy. Children and young men and women, carrying banners and hundreds of tricolor flags, provided the driving spirit of the demonstration. The demonstrators reached the Turkish Embassy under the supervision of the police and the disciplinary committee.

The door of the Turkish Embassy was once again shut before a three-man delegation and, as on earlier occasions, the memorandum to be delivered was affixed to the door. The young people burned a large Turkish flag to the accompaniment of a roar of slogans. The demonstration ended with the mass singing of "Harach Nahadag" ["Onward Martyrs"].

Numerous reporters, photographers, as well as correspondents of foreign news agencies and international TV agencies were present at the demonstration.

Salonica

A similar ceremony and demonstration was held in Salonica, again with the memorandum being rejected and then being affixed to the door. Here, too, like in Athens, Armenian shops were closed for the day, with notices explaining why. Armenian pupils, students, and employees stayed away from classes and offices. Thousands of posters were displayed on the streets of Athens and Salonica in connection with the day.

Greek television and radio provided extensive coverage of the demonstrations. The press provided even more extensive coverage using large color photographs.

Paris

Some 15,000 Armenians throughout France took to the streets to protest against the genocidal government of Turkey. Over 5,000 Armenians in Paris, organized by the A.R. Federation and like-minded associations, gathered at the Etoile on 24 April, carrying tricolor flags and banners. The demonstrators marched toward the Turkish Embassy but, some 500 meters from it, came up against a police barrier. Two persons made speeches here, enumerating the Armenian demands and mentioning in this connection the latest negative declaration by the foreign minister of the new French government, a statement made with an eye to curry Turkey's favor. The statement of the French foreign minister was condemned in appropriate manner. A communication from the French Socialist Party was read.

Marseille

In Marseille also 3,000 Armenians gathered together to march to the prefecture where they delivered a resolution of demands. Copies of this resolution were also distributed to members of the public.

Lyons

The demonstration in Lyons began after Mass at the Armenian church under the patronage of the three spiritual leaders. The people, numbering some 3,000-5,000, gathered at Place Bellecour. Just as in Paris and Marseille, here also the tricolor emphasized the political nature and dominant youth-sponsored character of the demonstration.

A number of Senators and delegates to the Parliament also participated in the demonstrations; two of the former made speeches. Other representatives, particularly from the French Socialist Party, also participated in the event.

There have been similar demonstrations in Saint Etienne, Saint Chamon, and Dessin.

13185/12795
CSO: 4605/36

MOROCCO

COMMERCIAL AGREEMENT WITH EGYPT EXAMINED

Rabat AL-'ALAM in Arabic 28 May 86 p 3

[Article: "Morocco-Egypt: On Stimulating Trade"]

[Text] Mr. Hassan Zemmouri, director of the research department of the Moroccan Company for Trade Between Arab and African Countries, left Cairo on Tuesday after a working visit to Egypt lasting a week, during which he made a series of contacts with Egyptian officials in the foreign trade sector.

The Moroccan official, who visited a number of factories and commercial establishments in Port Sa'id and Alexandria, held working sessions with leaders in the import-export sectors and with the chairman of Nasr Import-Export Company, one of the largest public-sector companies in Egypt. The two sides discussed the available possibilities for trade between Morocco and the Arab Republic of Egypt and the stimulating of cooperation between businessmen in the two countries.

Mr. Hassan Zemmouri stated that his visit to Cairo came in the wake of the missions to Egypt organized by the Moroccan Center for the Stimulation of Trade. These missions prepared a study of the Egyptian market and the extent of its capacity to absorb the products and manufactured goods that Morocco exports, a study which came to positive conclusions.

He announced that an Egyptian mission from the import-export sector will visit Morocco in the middle of the coming month to contact Moroccan officials in the economic and business field and gather information about the Moroccan market with the aim of producing a definite formula for trading a number of products and manufactured goods. He explained that these initiatives should be considered an embodiment of the wish of the two countries to stimulate and increase the volume of trade between them.

Mr. Zemmouri said that he had agreed in principle with the Egyptian side on a group of commodities that could be traded. He explained that Morocco could [one or more lines missing]. The Egyptian side could import food products, minerals such as phosphate, and leather goods from Morocco.

It should be mentioned that the Moroccan Company for Trade Between Arab and African Countries was founded in 1961 and has as its goal the stimulation

of Moroccan exports, continual search for new markets, and working toward the strengthening of trade between Morocco and the other countries of the world, especially African and Arab countries. The company maintains a number of trade centers in several Arab and African capitals.

12937/9435

CSO: 4504/336

MOROCCO

FAMILIES OF POLITICAL PRISONERS CITE INHUMANE CONDITIONS

Rabat AL-'ALAM in Arabic 28 May 86 p 3

[Petition: "Against Torture and Abuse"]

[Text] We, the families of the below listed political prisoners:

--the Marrakech group on hunger strike, comrades of the martyrs Dridi Boubakr and Belhouari Mustapha, now in Ibn Rushd hospital in Casablanca;

--the group of 26, comrades of the martyr al-Tahani Amin, scattered in the prisons of Safi, Kenitra, Casablanca, Meknes, and Tangier;

--the group of 16 in 'Ali Mumin prison in Settat;

--the group of political prisoners in the civil prison in Essaouira;

--the group of 15 in Aghbilah prison in Casablanca;

call on all national political parties and organizations, union organizations, cultural organizations, and interested citizens, as well as on national personalities and all who are concerned about human rights in Morocco to sign this petition.

We demand that the authorities carry out our sons' simple and just demands concerning the most elementary conditions for carrying on life within the prisons;

--[that they] condemn the method of torture in prison, which has become the only method the authorities use against our sons whenever they protest the inhumane situation they experience within the prisons (fettering and drugging in Ibn Rushd hospital at Casablanca in the case of the Marrakech prisoners; continual beating, daily abuse, stripping of clothes, dousing with cold water, and random shaving of heads in the case of all the political prisoners; complete seclusion and the prohibition of assistance in the case of the chronically ill prisoner al-Khasasi Mahmud in Meknes prison);

--[that they] condemn the method of procrastination and indifference to our sons' demands, in spite of the calls that we and the patriotic forces have

made for carrying out the demands of political prisoners while waiting for the release of all of them;

--[that they] halt political imprisonment and take positive action to respect human rights, especially the protocol recently signed by Morocco prohibiting torture in prisons and which specifies in its fifth and sixth paragraphs:

--"No person shall be subjected to torture and to punishments that are cruel and brutal or that demean one's dignity."

--"Each individual has the right to life, liberty, and the safety of his person."

[Space for signature]

I support and am in solidarity with the petition--

Name:

Profession:

Signature:

12937/9435
CSO: 4504/336

SUDAN

BA'THIST DISCUSSES TASKS AWAITING NEW GOVERNMENT

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 12 May 86 pp 16-17

[Article by 'Abdallah al-Safi: "The Government's Duties and Tasks Begin With Eliminating the Effects of May"]

[Text] On 6 May 1986 the distribution of the new portfolios for the new Sudanese government headed by al-Sadiq al-Mahdi was announced. A conspicuous feature of this new government was the defeat of the Islamic National Front in the elections for the Command Council and the Prime Ministry.

In view of the existing balance, it appears that this situation will continue as long as the front does not sign the National Unity Government charter, controversial among political circles, which lays down guidelines for confronting the challenges of the coming period. 'Abdallah al-Safi, editor-in-chief of AL-HADAF, has written this analysis of the new government's tasks.

Nowadays there is much talk about the intended formation of a national unity government and the preparation of a charter for this purpose. As a preliminary to discussing the possibilities that these efforts will succeed and the incoming government will successfully face the challenges of the coming period, we must assert that any talk of a charter outside the context of the coup forces charter, which the transition government organizations were unable to implement fully, is out of line. Stable democratic rule cannot be firmly established, national unity cannot be strengthened and reinforced, and the country cannot be extricated from the abyss of economic crisis as long as the incoming government does not commit itself to completely eliminating the effects of May. This issue cannot be divided up or carried out in part. Its achievement depends on certain objective and subjective conditions. The slogan "eliminate the effects of May" cannot be abridged into a petty controversy over abolishing or amending laws. The balance of power sought by some people, in order to bring their parties together to form a so-called National Unity Government in which the remnants of May front will figure, is basically a mistaken one. The May regime was not merely the

September laws and the state security law, nor was it just an economic and political program; it also consisted of agencies, organizations, social groups and class interests. Therefore, the effects of May cannot be completely eliminated as long as the remnants of May front remains part of the authority which will carry out this task. Anyone who looks at the faces of the Constituent Assembly members will find May faces and figures among them, as well as representatives of the petty bourgeoisie imposed on the assembly by the May regime, along with corrupt financial, administrative, political and social groups occupying political positions in parties and entities other than the May remnants' National Front. This situation will imperil the Constituent Assembly itself as it confronts the task of eliminating the effects of May. As long as the principal influential forces in the Constituent Assembly do not resolutely adopt the slogan calling for eliminating the effects of May on all political, economic, social and legal levels, and as long as it does not firmly commit itself to implementing this slogan, then it will be in no better position than the organizations of the first transitional period. The government and the assembly will be rendered unsuccessful, and once again the way will be clear for potential retrogression. So much seems obvious from our examination of the nature of the tasks facing the Constituent Assembly and the incoming government.

First: On the General Political Level

On this level, the first task facing the Constituent Assembly is to lift the state of emergency and all the restrictions imposed on freedoms, including the freedom to form parties, the freedom of opinion and belief, the freedom of the press, and the freedom to form democratic, union, and social organizations. This requires following up the abolition of all laws restricting freedoms, particularly the September 1983 laws, the state security law, and the laws regulating union activity. The assembly can successfully confront this task only within a comprehensive framework and program for eliminating the effects of May.

Working To Establish Constitutional Organizations

The second task facing the Constituent Assembly is working to establish constitutional government organizations, on the basis of democratic elections, separation of legislative, executive and judicial authorities, and rejection of any tendency towards imposing a new dictatorship under the pretext of a presidential republic or b, exploiting the tolerant Islamic Shari'ah, like Numayri did during his black era. The key to success in this task is to completely eliminate the legacy of the Numayri regime in this respect, which can be done only by isolating the May remnants front, which had whole-heartedly adopted that experiment and is resisting any tendency to eliminate its legacy.

Reviewing Regional Autonomy

The third task facing the Constituent Assembly and the next government is to eliminate the May regime's distortions of regional autonomy and to submit it to review so as to achieve decentralized government, enhance democracy,

achieve national unity, and adhere to a comprehensive, integrated, regionally-balanced development program for rebuilding the most backward areas. This task obviously calls for eliminating the May mentality and the interests and groups which were connected with this debased application of regional autonomy and which thrived under its corruption. The May front, as embodied by these groups and interests, will spare no effort to resist and obstruct this task.

Representing the New Forces

The assembly's primary role is the creation of a truly democratic constitution based on the parliamentary system and the parliamentary republic--a constitution which relies on a clear-cut formula for representing new forces and on proportional representation in parliamentary elections to guarantee political stability, furtherance of the democratic experiment, and expansion of the basis for democratic participation--a constitution linked to the roots of our people's national make-up and fulfilling their aspirations for democracy, development, consolidation of national unity, and the achievement of equal rights and duties without any discrimination based on race, religion or region. The accomplishment of this task is necessarily connected with eliminating the effects of May completely, isolating the May remnants front, and grasping our people's lessons and experiences over the past 30 years.

Second: The Problem of the South

It cannot be disputed that the May regime was the principal cause of, and was first and last responsible for, the fighting that is now going on in Southern Sudan. It is also an accepted fact that the coup forces all agreed that the issue of the South cannot be solved except peacefully and democratically, and that the practical expression of this formula is the National Accord Conference. The conditions for this solution were outlined by the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party as follows:

1. Recognition of the cultural, historic and geographic differences between the North and the South; any solution to the southern problem must start with this fact and must be based on a renunciation of fighting and on adherence to peaceful, democratic dialog.
2. Support for the South's right to regional autonomy within the context of national unity and for its right to preserve its local culture and develop it in such a way as to serve the South's development and progress;
3. Support for John Garang's demand for a cease-fire and for a dialog conducted through the National Accord Conference, as well as a commitment on the part of all concerned parties to work to supply the necessary conditions for beginning that dialog, keeping it going, and attaining the hoped-for results.

From the above, it is clear that eliminating the effects of May is a necessary precondition for progress along the road to solving the Southern problem. It is also clear that the objective condition for solving the issue peacefully and democratically is the conviction, on the part of all parties, that the problem can be solved only through national dialog. This means that

those parties which have overtly avowed their acceptance of the principle of dialog while concealing their inclination towards a military or even expansionist solution which will fan the flames of civil war are not qualified to play a positive role in this regard. Certainly the May remnants front, which worked with Numayri to fan the fires of civil war, will present an obstacle to all attempts at a peaceful, democratic solution.

Third: the Economic Recovery Program

Any attempt to salvage the Sudanese economy must be based on a clear understanding of the reasons and roots of the economic crisis, because any attempt at treatment must eradicate the interests of the parasitic groups which played such a large part in aggravating this crisis. Any salvage attempt outside the overall context of eliminating the effects of May will never be anything more than an attempt at plowing the sea. It will be no better than the hap-hazard May program which primarily contributed to the crisis and were basically no good at healing it. It must be resolved, first of all, that total commitment to the general framework of the National Economic Conference resolutions and the plan for salvaging the national economy is the natural starting point for solving the economic crisis. This is impossible without totally eliminating the effects of May on the economic level, particularly the huge, scattered industries and the popular punishment law and the "where did you get this" law, so as to return the money plundered from the people and punish those who were instrumental in sabotaging the national economy.

Liberating the Economy From Foreign Influences

Another essential objective condition for treating the crisis is to refuse to submit to International Monetary Fund conditions and policies, to liberate the national economy from foreign influences, and to wipe out the centers of such influences within the various economic sectors. Naturally, the forces connected with these centers of foreign influence, basically represented by the May remnants front, pose the main stumbling block to any such trend, and in fact will be pivotal in uniting this group's parties in other traditional political formations to oppose any measures taken in this regard, relying on the pressures which the government will face from the Paris Club, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank.

Expanding the Subsidized Commodities Base

The tendency towards fighting parasitic activities and smuggling, eradicating inflation, restoring subsidies for basic commodities (gasoline, flour, sugar, medicines and so forth), and expanding the subsidized commodities base, in addition to reviewing the wage scale, with the help of the labor unions, in order to tie wages to the costs of living and production and to achieve a rewarding return for labor and a just distribution of national income, is the strongest expression of our national options for confronting the economic crisis and alleviating the sufferings of the masses. These measures, which are in the interest of the struggling popular masses, cannot possibly please the centers of foreign influence or the social groups whose economic interests are connected with the bygone May regime.

Reforming the Banking System

Furthermore, the affirmation of the public sector's guiding role in the development process and in the various branches of the national economy, and the fundamental reliance on economic planning in managing the national economy and economic and social development, have both helped clip the wings of parasitic activity in the Sudan. This has reinforced efforts to reform the banking system by enhancing the Bank of Sudan's control over banking activity and monetary policy, stressing that bank's profit-making aspects, eliminating foreign and local private sector banks, and stopping the free circulation of foreign currency and restoring controls over it, as well as by regulating foreign trade by restoring the bilateral agreements system, making importation subject to essential consumer needs and production requirements, and getting the public sector involved in importing and exporting. All of this will put our economy on the road to health and vigor, and will certainly displease the May remnant forces, because all these measures are incompatible with the interests of the parasitic groups as expressed by their front.

Fourth: Reforming the State Apparatus

The main issues facing the next government also include reforming the state apparatus, purging it of May remnants and their supporters who still hold high positions, and guaranteeing the civil service's independence and improving its laws and statutes so as to make it a productive, efficient, democratic organization. Attempts at reform in this area will meet with vicious opposition from the May remnants front within the assembly, and from May supporters and corrupt barons holding positions within the civil service agency itself.

Thus, as we review the tasks which the incoming government and the Constituent Assembly must accomplish, we find that they all come within the context of carrying out the coup charter, the most important clause of which deals with eliminating the effects of May. Therefore, any talk of participation in the government by the May remnants front means a retreat from the goals of this charter, and conflicts with the election platforms of all the various political parties with the exception of the May remnants front. Furthermore, any charter which departs from the framework of the coup charter or backs off from any of its clauses is out of line, and is the beginning of capitulation by the Constituent Assembly and the government which was founded on the basis of that charter. The choice is up to the majority parties: either they side with the masses who sent them to represent them, or they begin retreating from their election platforms and the coup charter, thus proving that for them the election platforms are merely words. In that case, the old saying "the antelope returns to its old ways" would apply to them, and it would be as if we were neither coming nor going.

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14 July 1986

TUNISIA

MEMBER OF PROGRESSIVE SOCIALIST GROUPING ARRESTED

Tunis AL-RA'Y in Arabic 9 May 86 p 2

/Article: "Trial of Socialist Grouping Member"/

/Text/ The trade-unionist Mouldi Fahem, a member of the agriculture federation affiliated with OGTT, has been under arrest since Tuesday, 15 April, 2 hours before the demonstration organized by the opposition parties for that day. He had in his possession copies of the joint brochure prepared by the parties to call for the demonstration.

During questioning, Mr Fahem mentioned that he belonged to the Progressive Socialist Grouping and was determined to participate in the demonstration called by the opposition.

Although all political party members imprisoned on that day have been released--and all of them had espoused the brochure--Mr Fahem was transferred to the civil prison and charged with "maintaining an unauthorized association" and "possessing and circulating literature without legal registration," because of his membership in the Grouping. His trial was set for 4 June, which means that he will remain in custody for nearly 6 weeks while awaiting trial! His lawyers have demanded that he be given a temporary release, but the request has apparently been refused.

12937/12276

CSO: 4504/337

TUNISIA

COURT TRIES MEMBERS OF ISLAMIC GROUPS

Tunis AL-SABAH in Arabic 1 May 86 p 2

/Article: "In Court"/

/Text/ The Misdemeanor Court, presided over by Mr Taieb Ben Abid, yesterday heard cases for 1981 and subsequent years involving certain holders of Islamic views. In them, more than 20 fugitives, some of whom had left the country, had been sentenced in absentia. A suspension of execution of their sentences had been ordered, together with permission for them to return to the country, but in 12 cases they protested against the sentences issued against them. The court questioned one defendant who appeared after having been arrested 2 months ago. He denied belonging to the Islamic Tendency Movement, but did not deny having Islamic views, as evidenced by his attendance at sessions held in mosques. The courts postponed decision in his case until the session of 7 May, when sentence will be pronounced.

Hearings into the remaining cases were postponed until the session of 21 May at the request of the defense.

It is to be noted that among the defendants are a lawyer and a woman doctor.

Trial of a Lawyer

A lawyer was turned over yesterday to the Misdemeanor Court, presided over by Mr Taieb Ben Abid, charged with belonging to an unauthorized association, al-Shu'lah. The hearing was postponed until the session of 21 May.

12937/12276
CSO: 4504/337

14 July 1986

TUNISIA

TUNISIAN COMMUNIST PARTY ISSUES COMMUNIQUE

Tunisi AL-RA'Y in Arabic 9 May 86 p 2

/Article: "Communist Party Call for Formation of a Broad National Grouping"/

/Text/ Participants in the broadened PCT Central Committee meeting held in the capital on 3-4 May 1986 for representatives of the party apparatus issued a call in which it was stated specifically that the situation in the country "has produced a noticeable spread of apprehension in the various sectors of national public opinion, and the increasing gravity of external threats in our region has complicated the situation...."

After reviewing the condition of freedoms in the country, the suppression of newspapers, the "Sham conference for the nobility," and the breaking up of the demonstration criticizing the American aggression against Libya, the communique stated that "stopping this deterioration in the situation is an urgent national necessity."

At the end, the communique called on "all patriotic strugglers, irrespective of their persuasions and party or ideological affiliations, to form a broad national grouping in which all sincere resolutions meet to put an end to the deterioration by defending union, political, and academic freedoms, defending Tunisia's independent decisionmaking, resisting imperialistic interference in our region, and working to end the tension with neighbors."

12937/12276

CSO: 4504/337

TUNISIA

ECONOMIC BURDEN OF LOW-INCOME FAMILIES EXAMINED

Tunis AL-SHURUQ in Arabic 6 May 86 p 4

/Article: "Limited-Income Families: Measures for Reducing Poverty and Improving the Social Situation"

/Text/ Fifty-five percent of Tunisian men and women over age 15 are not illiterate. One-third of them have passed the level of primary schooling.

In our country, there is now a doctor for every 3,300 people, a pharmacist for every 7,760 people, and a dentist for every 17,000 people.

Average life-expectancy is now over 63 years; 20 years ago it was only 54 years.

The death rate is now 6 per thousand; 20 years ago it was 15 per thousand.

These are important social transformations that the country has witnessed.

What is their relation to public outlays in the social field?

What are the reflections of these social outlays on people of low income?

Well-informed sources have told us that more than 16 percent of the GNP is devoted annually to "social expenditures and payments."

Thus, 1,340 billion /dinars/ are devoted annually to these public expenditures, two-thirds of it to expenditures devoted to education, health, and basic commodity support. The final third is for other social payments--expenses of the Ministry of Youth and Sports, /the Ministry of/ Culture, /the Ministry of/ Information, and the services of the Social Security Funds.

1,110 Dinars for Every Family

What do these amounts represent?

The same sources indicate that they "make possible the improvement of family income, since they presently equal an income supplement whose value is 1,110 dinars annually for every family of six members. This is equivalent to the yearly income of a worker whose annual salary is equal to the minimum industrial wage (SMIG) currently in effect.

/"/ Also, the annual average of these expenditures has risen from 52 dinars per person in 1976 to 185 dinars."

Dropping Out of School

"However, while the benefit derived from education outlays is approximately the same for families with children in primary school, it varies at the secondary level.

/"/ This can perhaps be traced basically to the fact that /children of/ low-income families drop out of school. Students from this class of families suffer on the average a thirteenfold decrease in secondary school from what their number had been in primary school, while the decrease relative to /students from/ high-income families is less than 50 percent.

/"/ Low-income families therefore reap less benefit from education expenditures, for example, than what middle-or high-income families obtain."

Important Disparities

The significant conclusion, according to the same sources, is that "grants benefit high-income families more than others, and residents of cities more than residents of rural areas. /"/

Analysis of the distribution of compensation outlays according to income levels shows the existence of important disparities: In 1984, for example, the average compensation amounted to 33 dinars a year per person. However, the distribution of it varied according to areas: 46 dinars in major cities, against only 25 dinars for residents of rural areas, and 38 dinars for town dwellers.

Major Cities

The disparities are also evident in compensation expenditures. Residents of rural areas, who represent approximately 50 percent of the country's total population, enjoy only one-third of these expenditures.

The remaining two-thirds are the share of residents of the major cities and town dwellers.

However, the decrease in the illiteracy rate (46 percent, as opposed to 84 percent in 1956), the rise in the rate of educated women (68 percent, as opposed to 30 percent in 1957), the decrease in poverty (7.7 percent, as opposed to 35 percent 20 years ago), and the improvement in health and administrative services--all of this can be considered positive and a big step toward improving the condition of low-income families.

The recent increase in domestic grants to heads of families comes within the framework of the improvement of the social situation of these people. If we add to it the other improvements that will be introduced into the minimum industrial and agricultural wage, the effect upon the social condition of low-income families will be a positive one that will decrease social disparities.

12937/12276
CSO: 4504/337

TUNISIA

BRIEFS

ISLAMIC LIBERATION PARTY MEMBERS SENTENCED--The Misdemeanor Court, presided over by Mr Taieb Ben Abid, yesterday passed sentence on the Liberation Party group, who were charged with maintaining an unauthorized association and distributing literature. The sentences ranged between 1 year and 6 months imprisonment--particularly for those who are fugitives--and 3 months. The number of persons who were arrested is 11. /Text/ /Tunis AL-SABAH in Arabic 15 May 86 p 2/ 12937/12276

CSO: 4504/337

IRAQ

IRAN-IRAQ WAR CLOSEUP BY TURKISH REPORTER

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 27 Apr-1 May 86

[Four of a five-part series by Zeynep Kakinc: "Iraq at War Through a Woman's Eyes"; part four about military training at girls' schools omitted]

[27 Apr 86 p 7]

[Text] Menal Yunus-el-Alusi, a member of the Iraqi parliament and the president of the Iraqi Women's Association, insisted that "[the Ayatollah] Khomeyni is the only cause of the war" and said that "the Iraqi woman is prepared to die for Iraq and Saddam Husayn."

Menal El-Alusi, who has been the president of the Iraqi Women's Association for 10 years, replied to the TERCUMAN correspondent's questions as follows:

[Question:] Are there major differences between the past and the present of the Iraqi woman?

[Answer:] The Iraqi woman found her true place in society after Saddam Husayn became president on 17 July 1979. Women have been successful in political, economic and social domains in our country. Unlike the past, the Iraqi woman is developing herself steadily and continuing her struggle.

[Question:] What is the literacy rate among Iraqi women and what is the condition of the working woman?

[Answer:] Eighteen years ago there were only a handful of women in Iraq who could read or write. Today, the illiteracy rate among women is only 7 percent. All the children go to school. In universities, 38 percent of the students are women. Today, 25 percent of Iraqi women work and this figure is rising every day.

[Question:] How many women are there in the parliament?

[Answer:] Of the 250 members of the parliament which took office in 1980 33 are women. All of these women are also members of the Iraqi Women's Association.

[Question:] The Iraqi women are saying that they favor peace with respect to the Iran-Iraq war, but they are also asking Saddam Husayn to permit them to go and fight on the front. What do you think on this issue?

[Answer:] The Iraqi people, both men and women, want peace. The war started with the seizure of power in Iran by Khomeyni. The Iraqi woman is now burdened with two tasks: She is doing the work of her husband and son who are fighting on the front, and she is performing her traditional functions. She wants peace to be restored as soon as possible, but if this situation is going to continue, she is asking Saddam Husayn to permit her to go and fight against Khomeyni on the front. The Iraqi women are prepared to die for Iraq and Saddam Husayn.

(Of course, with our democratic way of thinking we find it hard to understand the concept of "dying for Saddam Husayn." But this mentality is frequently encountered in this type of countries. We continue asking.)

[Question:] What do you think about the Iranian people?

[Answer:] Khomeyni is the root cause of everything. He is forcing the Iranian people to fight the war. One can tell what kind of a man Khomeyni is by looking at the way he sends young children to the front and makes them fight in combat. Iraq captured some of these children as prisoners and sent them back to their country, but Khomeyni did not accept them. The children are now our guests. Even the Iranian people do not want Khomeyni.

[Question:] Do you think that the Iranian women also think like you?

[Answer:] Khomeyni does not permit Iranian women to have any rights or any life of their own. He forced them to wear veils and imposed un-Islamic laws. We believe that the Iranian people will mete out the punishment Khomeyni deserves. "Satan Khomeyni," the nickname we gave Khomeyni here, is now written on walls in Iran.

(The Iranians, on their part, refer to Saddam Husayn as "Satan." But we do not enter into an argument. We ask about "democracy.") The answer we get is:

[Answer:] The best form of government is being able to live without depending on foreigners.

[28 Apr 86 p 7]

[Excerpt] Ali is 16 years old. For the last 5 years he has been living in an Iraqi POW camp in the Romani region, 100 kilometers north of Baghdad. He is being held as a "guest" in a military region together with his other friends who have survived. His friend Hamid is also with him.

They were captured the day they went to the front. There were hundreds of other Azeri, Turkmen, Kashgari and Farsi children like him. He misses his mother and brothers whom he has not seen for 5 years; he does not even know what happened to his father. He came to this country as a young boy, and now he is a teenager with hair growing on his lips. The Iraqi soldiers have treated them well. They have opened a school for the POW children and are teaching them in Turkish, Arabic and English. They have playing fields and canteens for their needs. The only thing missing is their freedom and their family.

Camp Commander

The commander of the Romani POW Children's Camp, Tarik Abid Ali, said that Iraq does not want POW children because it is inhuman. He said:

"We sent these children back to Iran through Turkey, but they did not accept them. They said: 'They do not belong to us.' We were forced to bring the children back. Now they are going to school in the camp; they are going to be our guests until the end of the war."

Conversation with Children of Turkish Descent

While we were saddened to hear that thousands of young men of Turkish descent were being made to fight in the Iran-Iraq war, when we were told that there were many Azeri and Turkmen POW children in Iraq, we made Romani the first stop of our tour of Iraq.

As soon as we stepped into the Romani POW Children's Camp, we were surrounded with greetings in Turkish:

"Welcome."

"Are you from Istanbul?"

"What is your name?"

They had heard that I am Turkish. I talked to each one of them. All of them spoke fluent Turkish. During my conversation with their Farsi friends, they translated for me. Some of them had been there for 3 years, others for up to 5 years. Together we toured their dormitories and school. I saw their playing fields, table tennis rooms and canteens. I also went to the camp hospital. The children receive regular medical care and sleep in truly clean beds.

Kadir Imamverdi, is a Turkmen boy from Khorasan who came here 3 years ago when he was only 14. When I asked him whether he is comfortable and whether he has any problems, he said: "We are very comfortable; they look after us well. But I am worried about my mother."

Cafer Kerim, now 16, recalled the way he was sent to the front:

"I was going to school. They stopped me on the way and took me to the front by force. I did not want to fight."

Halil, who is now 15 and who came to the Rumani camp when he was 12, and Riza, 13, said: "Khomeyni forced us to fight."

All the children expressed the hope that the war will be over soon, that Khomeyni will step down and that they will be reunited with their families.

The Iraqi government pays 1.50 dinars a month to the children in the camp. This helps them buy cigarettes. The children are also allowed to make some money by selling the handicraft they produce.

Ali and Hamid, both from Tabriz, stated that "all their needs are provided for" and added:

"We can freely move around the camp. We can buy things like cigarettes and beverages from the canteen. Our meals are cooked by the older POWs. Everything is fine; our only problem is that we miss our parents."

As I left the Turkish POW children thinking about the thousands of others who had been killed, the children shouted behind me:

"Take our greetings to our brothers in Turkey. Do not forget us."

[29 Apr 86 p 7]

[Text] Our second stop in Iraq was the Faw region where the war has recently intensified. We went there to talk to Iraqi soldiers who have been fighting their Moslem brethren in the 6-year-old war.

We crossed the vast An-Najaf desert to get to Basra which is 100 kilometers from the front. Trenches dug next to each other and the anti-aircraft guns placed in them signaled to us that we were approaching the war zone.

When we arrived in Basra, the first thing that caught our attention was the cleanness of the city. While war rages only 100 kilometers away, the people go on with their normal lives and do not let down their fortitude. The war appeared to be part of their daily lives. But the sandbags and gun emplacements lining the streets and the banks of the Shatt-al-Arab river were reminders of the painful reality of the war.

Martyrs' Museum

As soon as we arrived in Basra, we visited the Martyrs' Museum. This museum is dedicated to the memory of the children, women and men who died during the bombing of Basra. The walls of the museum are covered with photographs of the children who have died, uniforms of soldiers who have been killed and the tears of their kindred.

When I was asked to sign the visitors' book as I was leaving the museum, I could not think of anything except expressing my hope that "peace is restored soon."

Death and Life in Faw

As we approached Faw the sound of artillery and machine guns began ringing in our ears. The sky over Faw appeared to be grey and darker. The air was suffocating.

Finally the Front and Soldiers Writing a Bitter History

We were now in the middle of the Iran-Iraq war. Here one thing is dominant: Death. To kill and to win. Iraqi Moslem soldiers and Iranian Moslems are busy writing a bitter history on the banks of the Shatt-al-Arab river. They

have their families, children, mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters and wives behind them and death and killing before them. They are like the helpless pawns of a meaningless wargame.

I tried to talk to the soldiers through my guide. The questions I wanted to ask are related to the war. Suddenly, I heard a voice telling me "welcome." But it was in Turkish, and soon the voice was joined by others.

When I turned I saw young men from Kirkuk and Erbil--that is our Turkmen youth--in military uniforms.

To my meaningless question "What are you doing here?" they responded with telling stares and said:

"We are fighting."

We began a chat with the Turkmens and other Iraqi young men.

Necib Abdalnecib of Kirkuk had been on the front for 5 years. He is 29 and married.

I asked Najib: "When did you last see your wife?"

He said: "One and a half months ago." I was told that the soldiers take leave once in a while to go and visit their families. The frequency of the leaves is adjusted according to the war situation.

Fares Fasal and Muhammad Sadek are two Iraqi airmen. They had been fighting for 4 years. Musenna Abdulhak, 25, said that he misses his child very much.

When asked about their views, the soldiers said:

"We do not want war. But we are forced to fight to defend ourselves against Iranian assaults. We all want this meaningless war to end as soon as possible."

Commander of Faw Region

Kayis Muhammed Ali is the commander-in-chief of the Faw region. He says: "It is Khomeyni who wants the war, not us."

We asked the commander of the Faw region:

"What is the condition of the Iraqi army?"

[He replied:] "Our condition is very good. We have a superior air force. Our soldiers are prepared to give up their lives gladly for their country and Saddam Husayn. We can always drive back the suicide assaults of the other side. But Khomeyni is sending even the children to war."

[Question:] "Do you want peace?"

[Answer:] "All we want is peace. We want peace not because we are weak, but because we do not want blood to be shed for nothing. But Khomeyni has not responded to Iraq's calls for peace."

[Question:] "How many soldiers has Iraq lost so far?"

[Answer:] "Not many. Iran has lost many men. One of our advantages is that we know this region well. All of our soldiers can move in this area with their eyes shut. For the Iranians, on the other hand, this is a foreign land."

As we left the front between Iran and Iraq we prayed that the war between these two Islamic countries end as soon as possible.

[1 May 86 p 7]

[Excerpts] The Iraqi people do not want to fight any more. Everyone is tired of the war which is in its sixth year now. Iraqis from all walks of life are asking for "peace."

However, the Iraqis state repeatedly that they want "peace" not out of weakness but because they do not want to see any more Moslem blood shed. Taha Muhyi al-Din Ma'ruf, an aide to Iraqi President Saddam Husayn, expressed his feelings on this issue as follows:

"Iraq has the strength to drive back Iranian assaults at any time. We want peace, but if Iran continues the war it will always face a united Iraqi people."

War Coexists With Entertainment

In "Iraq at war," people carry on with their social activities while the battles rage on. Weddings, parties and work go on normally. Baghdad, the capital, is a cultural center; international meetings and Islamic conferences are regularly held, and organizations funded with billions of liras tend to the needs of foreign guests.

Kirkuk, Erbil Visits Not Allowed

Kirkuk and Erbil were not included in our tour program even though we wanted to see those cities very much. They refused to allow us to visit Kirkuk and Erbil. But I met and talked to residents of Kirkuk and Erbil wherever I went to. They surrounded me as soon as they learned that I was Turkish. We had very emotional "chats" with them.

Saddam Everywhere

If you stay in Baghdad, the only way you can tell that there is a war is by watching television programs. One of the two television channels on the air is filled with programs designed to raise the morale of the soldiers.

Posters of Saddam Husayn hang in all streets in Iraq. The posters show him praying, with children and on the front. His pictures, in various poses, adorn shops and homes. For the Iraqi people, Saddam appears to be more important than Iraq.

Nedda Daudi, an Iraqi young woman, expressed the sentiments of the Iraqi people as follows:

"The Iraqi people--men, women and children--are filled with love for Saddam Husayn. We owe him a lot. We are prepared to die for him."

State Control

The war has affected market prices in Iraq in various ways. Officially, 1 dinar is equivalent to about \$3, but on the market 1 dinar sells for about \$1. A college graduate who speaks a foreign language is paid an average of 81 dinars a month. In a country where collective labor agreements do not exist, the government increases monthly salaries by 2 dinars every year. This pay raise is increased to 3 dinars every three years.

The Iraqi market is dominated by foreign goods. American food and beverage products are particularly dominant. Food is relatively inexpensive since the prices are controlled by the government. For example, one loaf of bread sells for a quarter of a dinar. A kilogram of zucchini costs 1.50 dinars. Clothing, on the other hand, is expensive; it is virtually impossible to buy any dress for less than 25 to 30 dinars.

Before and After the War

History in Iraq is seemingly made by the war. There is a "before the war" and an "after the war." Baghdad seems to have been rebuilt since the beginning of the war. There are five to six luxury hotels in Baghdad alone. Modern buildings are slowly replacing the old ones. Meanwhile, the government is helping to resolve the people's housing problem. New homes on the banks of the Tigris river are distributed to the people on 20-year payment schedules.

People's Armies

Large numbers of Iraqis wearing green uniforms can be seen on the streets. When we inquired, we were told that they all belonged to the people's army. Everyone works hard to get a job in the people's army.

People's armies play an important role in Iraq. We learned that many men and women we thought were army recruits were actually members of the people's army. Those wearing uniforms do their work on behalf of the government.

'Turkey Must Support Iraq'

The Iraqis show intense interest toward the Turks. They want our country, which has pursued a neutral policy with respect to the war, to side with Iraq.

While this is what government officials think, occasionally we heard this sentiment from the people. Hikmet Nasimi, a shopkeeper in Baghdad, said:

"I have traveled to Turkey several times, but travel abroad was banned after the war started. Hopefully, I will travel to Turkey again. But I do not understand why Turkey is not supporting us. Do not sell anything to Iran, side with Iraq, and this war will be over very soon."

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14 July 1986

ISRAEL

RABIN INSTRUCTS IDF HIGH COMMAND TO DISCUSS WALD REPORT

Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew 19 May 86 p 5

[Text] Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin instructed the IDF High Command to discuss the Wald report regarding shortcomings of the IDF during the Lebanese War. A HADASHOT reporter learned that from Eytan Haber, communications adviser to Mr Rabin.

Haber stressed that he had no knowledge when the discussion at the High Command was to take place. "The report is several hundred pages long," he said. "The main point is not when the discussion will take place or what will be discussed, but what are the lessons to be implemented as a result."

Silvan Shalom, communications adviser to Justice Minister Yitzhaq Moda'i, told HADASHOT on 18 May that Minister Moda'i was disturbed by the way the IDF handled the matter. He added that Moda'i intended to approach the authorized persons in the IDF and the defense system within the next few days demanding that they discuss the Wald report.

Deputy Knesset chairman and Member of Knesset Aharon Nahmiyas was to present an urgent resolution to the Knesset regarding the Wald report at the opening of the summer session.

Maj Gen (Reserves) Avraham Rotem, who was requested by Wald to read the report and state his opinion, wrote to Wald: "A respectable job. It deserves to be read, deserves to be discussed. For many reasons it is an important and unique document...(The parts dealing with the Lebanese War and previous wars) constitute an important document. I would not hesitate to recommend it as required reading for IDF officers from captain and up..."

Wald claims that in addition to Rotem's opinion, two active major generals voiced their positive opinion: Maj Gen Jacki Even, who was commander of the National Defense College, and who is now consul in the United States, and Maj Gen Avi Ya'ari, the present College commander.

Colonel Wald stressed that he wanted to avoid a personal clash. "I have no argument with anyone," he told HADASHOT. "I have no personal interest, no promotion, no rehabilitation. I am deeply convinced that the IDF has a real problem, which, if not addressed, will exert a price which is above and beyond

this debate. My recommendations don't have to be adopted. Not even half of them. But a debate ought to take place. To date the defense minister's instructions have not been carried out. No High Command forum has discussed the report. It is unreasonable that the IDF would function for 8 years without a multi-year plan."

Wald's report consists of four parts: The first analyzes the IDF activities in Lebanon; the second examines whether the shortcomings in Lebanon were accidental or a result of long neglect; the last two parts propose a multi-year plan for reconstruction of the IDF.

In the course of preparing the latter parts Wald was accused of espionage, after it was found that he photographed documents from the Planning Branch Chief's safe. According to him, while the investigation was going on, he was boycotted by department chiefs in the General Planning Branch. "I was watched everywhere I went. My subordinates were questioned about my activities. I was asked to take several polygraph tests. There were pressures. It didn't exactly help my health. The pressure was felt at home, by the children. But this is no reason to quit."

Wald says that there were those who suggested to him to make a deal with the IDF (not an official proposal by the IDF establishment) according to which he was to be honorably discharged and in return he would stop his investigation. He turned the offer down.

"I prefer to refer to the Wald report like I do to war with Syria: Head on. Two or three sentences, and not through the media," said Chief of Staff Lt Gen Moshe Levi in a speech at the Economic Club in Ashqelon. Levi added that the Wald report is only one of many that are being prepared, within the IDF and also outside the military, regarding the future war. "I have not seen the Wald report, but if anyone can say that there has been no conceptual change in the approach to defense since the War of Independence, I'd like to know where he studied history."

The Report: The IDF Is Deteriorating

The main points of the report written by Col (Reserves) Dr 'Imanu'el Wald:

Since 1967 there has been an erosion in the IDF. This erosion is reflected in the results of the various wars. In the Six Day War the IDF beat more than three Arab armies, on three fronts, with an investment of only 6 percent of the GNP. In the Yom Kippur War the IDF was barely even against two armies, on two fronts, with double the investment. In the Lebanese War the IDF did not even manage to defeat one army, on one front, under optimal conditions and with an investment of 18 percent of the GNP.

No general lessons have been learned from the wars. The results were not compared to the goals and that is why the erosion has not been reversed. The reasons for the erosion:

1. Lack of professionalism at the command level. The commanders of the Lebanese War did not show real leadership. One result is that important

targets were sacrificed for marginal ones. IDF formations could not overcome smaller enemy forces. Company commanders and battalion commanders, who proved very effective in the Six Day War, did not fare quite as well in 1982.

2. Naive warfare doctrines. The IDF did not have a joint warfare doctrine for all ground forces. "At best," claim Wald, "Armored units and infantry forces fought side by side without hitting each other."

3. Wrong training. The IDF consists of divisions but trains in battalions.

4. Structure and organization. The divisions are too large. They have too few battalions and there is too much stress on armored units. Support units, engineering, and artillery are relatively weak. The logistical structure is cumbersome. The division commands are large and unprofessional. The IDF has grown out of all proportion to its power.

The Wald Report's Tortuous Road

Col (Reserves) 'Imanu'el Wald recalls the events:

September 1982. Wald, a student at the National Defense College, starts an analysis of the Lebanese War, with the approval of the chief of staff, Rafal.

15 April 1983. Moshe Levi becomes chief of staff. Wald presents him with the report. He suggests studying the IDF structure and the lessons of the Six Day War and the Yom Kippur War in order to determine to what extent the shortcomings in Lebanon were accidental. Levi approves.

August 1983. Wald completes the second part of his study. His conclusion: The problems noticed in the Lebanese War could have been detected in previous wars. He waits for 2 months for an appointment. The chief of staff then appoints him a department head in the Planning Branch and charges him with preparing a multi-year plan for the reconstruction of the IDF.

1 October 1983. Wald starts his new job. From here on, so he claims, he cannot obtain the documents he needs to prepare the plan. His requests, addressed to the chief of the Planning Branch, remain unanswered.

May 1984. Wald is investigated, suspected of espionage, having photographed documents he obtained from the safe of the Chief of the Planning Branch. The investigation ends with no conclusions. In other words, Wald is not a spy.

30 September 1984. Wald presents the multi-year plan to the chief of staff. He proposed appointing a committee of major generals to examine it. Levi answers that he prefers to read the report himself and give it to just one major general.

February 1985. Wald presents the report to the defense minister. The next day he is appointed an instructor at the National Defense College.

July 1985. Wald has yet to hear from the minister. He requests discharge. It is then that he finds out about the defense minister's directive. The

major general who read the report determines that it is to be partially accepted. It is decided that the other major generals cannot read the report prior to convening. Wald protests to the chief of staff. His appeal is rejected and he leaves the IDF.

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ISRAEL

GENERAL DAVID 'IVRI INTERVIEWED ON LAVI PROJECT

Tel Aviv BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR in Hebrew No 50-51, Apr 86 pp 16-20

[Text] [Question] The 28th Aeronautical Convention was held in Israel recently. You were the chairman. How would you summarize it?

[Answer] As far as I am concerned it was very successful. But I was the chairman and therefore I cannot be objective and I will refrain from complimenting myself...

These conventions, dealing with flight and space have previously not received much attention in Israel. I was therefore surprised when responses to my invitations to overseas experts to talk at the convention were so quick and positive. They were very happy to come. In Israel, on the other hand, there were those who were not even aware of the fact that the convention was taking place...One of the most important achievements in these convention is that they create awareness on subjects like space, on which there is almost total ignorance. There were some very good papers presented all through the convention. Many young scientists presented very interesting papers, which were very warmly received. The standard as a whole was very high. I think that one might say that the convention achieved its goals.

[Question] General Abramson, chief of the SDI project, was in Israel as guest of the Aeronautical Convention. Was there any practical outcome to his visit here?

[Answer] General Abramson facilitated Israel's entry to the SDI project. The very ties with him and the invitation created an atmosphere for negotiations. In the few days he spent in Israel we packed his time with visits to relevant industries. I think he was very impressed with what he saw.

Even before his visit, we had here, as visitors, a group of international experts that serves as consultants to the SDI project in areas such as propulsion, laser, electronics, navigation, control, etc. Members of this group also visited several industries, some of them for the first time. The delegation chairman contacted me after they had left and told me that he was very impressed with industry in Israel. I think we have the beginnings of an advanced stage of practical contacts with the Americans, although we have not yet signed any contracts.

I am under no illusion that our aerospace industry can compete with large American companies, with billions of dollars at their disposal, and who have been in the business for over 20 years. But our proximity to the operational arena and our flexibility may help us produce unique products.

[Question] Can you name a specific example of such a product that you may have proposed to the Americans?

[Answer] General Abramson referred to defense against short to medium range land to land missiles, which pose a threat both in Israel and in Europe. In this area he saw some technologies and some unique concepts which quite impressed him. I will not elaborate on the concepts. It is an operational area and secrecy is very important. In the area of technology there are many research institutions, universities and advanced industries which proposed sub-systems that would be integrated with large American systems in the laser areas. As to the "particle cannon" to which Gen Abramson referred as an example of an interesting Israeli development, it is a sort of electromagnetic cannon. It is still on paper. Just an idea. The Israeli plant which suggested the idea needs development funds in order to implement it. This is exactly where all of the SDI project is. It is a phase where ideas are examined, and the way to implement them, in order to define the areas that look promising enough for development.

[Question] Gen Abramson is an Air Force man. He headed the F-16 project. How was he impressed with the Lavi project?

[Answer] In a tour of the Lavi plant we practically had to drag him away. He simply did not want to leave. He stopped at the cockpit and asked many questions about the equipment. He said that in organizing and managing the project we learned a lot from what he originally wanted to implement on the F-16. For example, simulators, the "iron bird," and avionics. He was very excited and said that this is exactly how the project should be run. His approach was very positive.

[Question] What is your reaction to the claim that all the Americans want from Israel is political support for SDI, since technologically and monetarily they can manage the project on their own.

[Answer] One ought to understand the American system in order to understand their approach. A system such as this, from their point of view, is also a political system. They need political support for any such project. They sought it for the F-16 also. They wanted intensive congressional participation and they needed the international aspect for that. In my opinion, everyone ought to see the political window through which one looks. Israel owes a lot to the Americans. We are trying to find those areas where both sides can work together. We can participate and benefit in those areas that for the Americans are worth only a few million dollars. In my opinion both sides stand to gain substantially from our participation in the project.

[Question] What is Israel Aerospace Industry doing in order to participate, technologically, in the space arena?

[Answer] Aerospace Industry now has a new department in the area of space and missiles in the electronics division. We are not anxious to disclose our activities because of some trade secrets, which are part of the economic lessons we have learned. We have to watch out not to over expose ourselves.

[Question] At what stage is the Lavi project?

[Answer] If everything works as planned, we will have our first flight in September. The first plane will roll off the assembly line in August or maybe even in late July. The plane is already on wheels and is being tested. We are running fuel and electricity through the systems in order to examine loads and capabilities. Each system is thus tested for 2 weeks. We planned and constructed the plane using CAD/CAM (computer aided design/computer aided manufacturing). This is how we are going through the tests, too. The method has proven itself and unless we encounter an unexpected problem, we will meet our deadline. The only system that is behind schedule is the control computer which was scheduled to be shipped by Lear Siegler in April. In order not to create too much of a delay we are testing the control system with a computer which did not pass all the flight quality controls such as vibrations, knocking, etc. The tests in the "iron bird" are done with the aid of this computer. There is an additional delay on the project's critical path that we are trying to overcome by running on identical systems.

[Question] What effect will the cutbacks for Aerospace Industry have on the Lavi project?

[Answer] First, Aerospace Industry does not work by budgets. The army gets a budget. Industry has to earn it. Orders from the Defense Ministry have gone down by millions in the past year. It may appear that for a company which has annual sales in excess of \$950 million this does not make much of a difference. In my opinion it is a lot. In the areas of maintenance and repairs there is a decline of 40 percent. Today, with the new fiscal year approaching, I am happy to say that we managed to get over these cutbacks. Last year our sales were \$901 million and this year they will be \$952 million, in spite of cutbacks in Defense Ministry orders. In other words, our exports have increased by \$100 million.

We export boats, anti-aircraft equipment, mine removers, helicopter blade repair and a computerized navigation program. We service 11 international airlines all over the world. We maintain military aircraft in many countries. We sold, relatively speaking, many improvements for military aircraft. We modify civilian planes and convert them to military duty. We sell weapon systems, sea-to-sea Gabriel missiles, an inertial system for navigation at sea, on land and in the air.

[Question] What, in your opinion, will the Lavi cost, and why is there a difference between the Israeli and American estimates?

[Answer] According to recent estimates done by the defense system, the Lavi price is between \$13.5 and \$15.5 million. This is the Fly Away price. The difference of \$2 million stems from the difference between the minimal price

of each item and the maximal price. We add up all the minimal figure on one side and the maximal on the other side and obtain two estimates. Obviously things change with time. For example, the economic plan reduced the cost of labor. We will also reassess the figures every year and try and maintain this range of prices.

The American price was \$22 million per plane. This is a difference of \$7 million, and this is a lot, almost 50 percent. The reason is their different approach. The Americans see everything their way. Just as I, for example, fail to see how people on the Dutch-Belgian border live in peace, they fail to understand our economy.

Our defense system presented a document according to which one hour of labor, including all benefits, costs us \$22. The Americans took this to be a net figure, added all the benefits, which had already been included, and arrived at \$47 per hour of labor. Development costs, for the Americans, are always above \$40 per hour, and that is why this figure seemed very logical to them. Had we received a proposal, by an Israeli contractor, for \$40 an hour, we would not even have considered it. It simply cannot happen here. For them this is the norm. Part of the gap in prices is a result of a gap in mentality and in approach, not someone's opposition to the Lavi. The Americans added too much, in our opinion, to material and to the engine, \$4.5 to \$7 million. If the American estimate is reduced by the overestimates and the mistakes, one can conclude that they are now much closer to us than before, when they quoted \$30-\$40 million per plane. This last estimate seems, indeed, to be the best of them all. They did the same with development costs, which they estimated at \$10 billion, reduced to \$4 billion, 6 months ago went down to \$2.9 billion, and just recently revised again, downward, to \$2.6 billion, while we held on to a figure of \$2.2 billion. Our system -- industry, the Air Force, the Defense Ministry -- is an integral system. The Americans don't have that. This is why it is so difficult for them to understand our methods and our mentality.

[Question] And how much does an F-16 cost as compared with the Lavi?

[Answer] The last deal, acquiring 75 F-16's, cost Israel \$3 billion, or \$40 million per plane, including all optional equipment. Without the optional equipment I estimate a price tag of \$23 million per plane. According to the still outstanding order, the Air Force is planning on purchasing 300 Lavis. Development costs per plane will decrease, of course, the more planes we sell. This is a major part of the price. In my opinion, no one today can say how many planes the Air Force will buy. We are dependent on American aid and without that there will be no Lavi. In any event it is clear that the Air Force needs a certain number of planes annually if only to replace older planes such as the Kfirs and the Skyhawks.

[Question] As to exports, do you expects the United States to impose restrictions as they did on the Kfir?

[Answer] There is no question that we will be restricted. But right now we are not exporting, just manufacturing. We are still selling Kfirs. Shortly we are about to deliver additional Kfirs to the American Navy. We have

already surpassed the \$1 billion mark in Kfir production. This has been Israel's best export project to date, because systems that were developed for the Kfir were utilized to modify and improve several other planes. This is where we excel. The United States, or for that matter any other country, would not bother to develop a production line to modify just 12 planes. It is not feasible. We here have the flexibility. We perform jobs that are very important for us. Systems that were developed for the Lavi have already brought in contracts worth \$53 million. This is not very much for Aerospace Industry, but plenty for our subcontractors.

'Arava and the Astra?

[Answer] In the last fiscal year we soled 16 Westwinds. The market is soft right now., but we are maintaining our share. The Astra is also holding its own. We have already delivered three of them to customers. The plane received high praise from pilots who flew it. Its licensing was on time and with no problems. The problem now is to market it. Our markets are abroad and it is difficult to barter with companies.

The 'Arava also enjoyed a good year. Our stockpiles are very low and it is possible that we will soon re-open production lines. We are currently doing some feasibility studies based on orders that we may receive.

[Question] What assurances do we have that the Americans will finance the Lavi exports?

[Answer] There are no such assurances. On the other hand, there are no restrictions on development costs. Congress approved \$300 million for "each project," including the Lavi. Therefore, we have some coverage for production, also. There are no promises. But do we have any assurances, for example, that defense aid for 1988 will be \$1.8 billion, as in previous years? We don't know that either and we are still taking that into account. In other words, the decision to finance the Lavi from American aid is ours. The Americans have already made their decision. The doubts are voiced by those who don't have the right outlook on the system. There is no restriction to develop the Lavi with U.S. money. The normal mode of operation is that the Americans don't tell us what to do, they only recommend and give advice. As long as aid is not less than \$1.8 annually, we can do with the money as we please, with \$300 million out of the \$1.8 billion allocated to the Lavi.

[Question] How does the partnership work between Aerospace Industry and the American companies that produce parts for the Lavi?

[Answer] The partnership is through contracts, all of which, as far as I know, have already been signed. We are not involved with the production of the engine. We are supposed to get that in turnkey condition.

[Question] Where, do you think, the PW-1120 engine will ultimately be produced?

[Answer] I really cannot tell you that. Right now we don't know whether it will be produced by Meno'ey Bet Shemesh or Pratt and Whitney. We don't even

want to voice an opinion, but there is no reason why we should not be getting the engine from either of these firms. The contract covers that. It is not a question of time or of a decision. As far as the engine goes things are moving smoothly. The wings were delivered by Grumman, after a reasonable delay. The only problem, as I have mentioned, is that of the control computer that was supposed to have been delivered by Lear Siegler and which has not yet been delivered.

[Question] What will be the price of closing down the project today? How many employees will Aerospace Industry have to lay off should the decision to close be made today?

[Answer] The cost of closing down will not be just monetary. The contracts alone will cost us \$155 million. Beyond that there is compensation we will have to pay to firms here and abroad. This may amount to \$50-150 million, roughly estimated. The United States will not finance the closing of the project. The defense system will, because that is where the decision to close will be made. In view of the cutbacks, any amount, even, say, only \$200 million, is too much because it means further cutbacks in the defense industry. In my opinion, it is precisely those industries fighting for closing the Lavi project that will be most hurt if that happens. This is not the way to start an economic recovery. Today the Lavi project employs more than 4,000 people. I think many of them will leave if the project is cancelled. The price will be paid by the defense system, the Air Force and the next generation of Tekhniyon graduates who will be forced to leave the country for lack of job opportunities. The Lavi project has a far reaching national outlook, far beyond economic considerations. Therefore closing the project is a national problem.

[Question] Assuming the project will end as planned, how will the Lavi stack up against other attack planes?

[Answer] First of all, it will be produced here. That alone is very important. The Lavi will answer a lot of our problems and concepts. It is a tailor made plane for our pilots and therefore has no substitute. The Lavi is supposed to replace the Skyhawks and the Kfirs. It will be no worse than the F-16 in air-to-air combat, and better in attack mode. In my opinion, in attack mode, the survivability of the Lavi is such that it is the best in the world. I have no doubt that in this respect it will be better than the A-10, the A-7, the Mirage-2000 and the F-20. It will not stack up against the F-15 or the Mig-25, which flies at 70,000 feet. It wasn't designed to. Its uniqueness will be in the contribution it will make to better and more efficient diversification of Air Force planes. The tendency to compare it with other planes is wrong. It is the diversification of planes that wins a war, and the Lavi makes the best contribution there. This is the best and only way to look at it.

[Question] Private industrialists claim that the government-owned defense industry get preferential treatment in contracts. Is there any substance to this complaint?

[Answer] I am, of course, not too objective. But in terms familiar to me, Aerospace Industry has annual sales of \$950 million. Less than a quarter of this comes from the Defense Ministry. There has never been a situation where the proportion between exports and Defense Ministry contracts was like that. This is the same, to my knowledge, for other firms.

Private firms have grown in the past, and rightly so. The Defense Ministry's budget remained the same, or was even reduced somewhat. Someone has to pay the price. Everyone can expect to get less. I think that government owned companies felt the cutbacks more than privately owned firms, as the figures show.

[Question] Where, in your opinion, will Israel realize the most dramatic technological break-throughs in the next few years?

Answer] [It is well-known that society today has moved from an industrial society to an information society. This is exactly what is happening to systems, too. The body itself, the plane, can fly for 40 years. But the innards, the parts which receive or provide information, have to be improved and replaced regularly. The instrument itself, the material part, is not as important today, when the instrumentation is the crucial component. In our industry the word is avionics. The Lavi carries 1,400 lbs of avionics, compared with the Kfir with only 350 lbs. Avionics is not just additional chips and more air conditioning, but more thought and more man-years for every piece of instrumentation. This is where we have to compete, because this is the only area where we have real resources, in technology, space, in any area where brains and thinking power are a component in the competition.

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ISRAEL

MK AHARON ABUHATZIRA INTERVIEWED, PROFILED

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[Interview with MK Aharon Abuhatzira conducted by Avi Betelheim;
date and place not given]

[Text] Aharon Abuhatzira, who remembers him? It was 2 years ago, on 22 March 1984, in the Knesset building, when the leader of TAMI, the "strong head" of Israeli politics, the omnipotent and omniscient "prince" raised his hand high, decided the fate of the Shamir government to collapse prematurely, and actually simultaneously decided his own political fate. A thin smile of satisfaction was spread over the face of the prince in view of the political turmoil that he had created. He was certain that another brilliant action had been added to his balance sheet. Today he acknowledges for the first time that even princes err.

And it was not a mere mistake but rather a major one. Of three seats, only one remained. Aharon Abuhatzira has joined the dubious club of the "isolated individuals in the Knesset". The orphaned seat has remained outside the coalition, without respect and power, a heavy blow to one who is so enamored of authority and comfort. The inevitable result was that the simple man has disappeared, and his party, TAMI, has also sunk with him. He travels abroad, and his absence is not especially felt in the Knesset. However, even when he is present, he is not one of the prominent people in the building, to say the least.

"Frankly," MK Aharon Abuhatzira says today, "when we decided to move up the elections to the 11th Knesset, we did not do what every party does in such a circumstance: to check with its people to see if it regards the action exactly as its leaders do. We did not conduct a public information campaign among our supporters, and we were unaware of opposition to the action. Therefore, some of those who supported us in 1981 punished us in 1984 and voted differently. It was undoubtedly a mistake, and if I could turn the clock back, I would try to do things differently."

However, this was not the only mistake of the young leader, 46, whose spectacular rise on the stage of Israeli politics was extremely impressive. It is evident that even a famous expert like Aharon Abuhatzira missed the train by a few minutes and has remained alone on the platform. Binyamin (Fuad) Ben-Eli'ezer, who left TAMI at the time mainly because of his disappointment

in Abuhatzira and joined 'Ezer Weizmann's Yahad, met the TAMI leader at the conclusion of the discussions on the establishment of a national unity government and urged him: Finish quickly because you are going to be buried. You are simply missing the target. But the charismatic Abuhatzira did not need advice from political novices. He broke out into his sweet smile and motioned with his finger as if to say: Don't worry, my friend, I know very well what I am doing.

Moreover, not only was he not reading hidden feelings -- as his saintly cousin, the liberated prisoner Baba Barukh Abuhatzira from Netivot -- but there were even cases in which he found it difficult to interpret the map that was in front of him. In November 1984, 2 months after the establishment of the unity government, he said in an interview with a journalist: "My estimate is that we are actually already in a process leading to new elections." Later, he voted almost every month on a date for dissolving the government and moving up the elections to the 12th Knesset. In May 1986 the unity government was still plodding along in Jerusalem and shamelessly frustrating its projections and hopes.

Shim'on Peres respects him and invites him from time to time to the Office of the Prime Minister in order to hear his estimates. He has an extraordinary mind and is an extremely wise man, Peres once told his confidants. Even the late Moshe Dayan was impressed with Abuhatzira's analytical ability. "He speaks sensibly," he said about him. It is no secret that many politicians frequently consult with him on various matters and love to hear his views on actions that have been taken and those in the planning stage. Yitzhaq Moda'i, for example, laid out for him in 1980 his precise plan to take over control of the Liberal Party and requested his opinion.

However, not everyone is enthused about these talents of Aharon Abuhatzira. Police officer Binyamin Siegel, who investigated him personally before the bribery trial (in which he was exonerated), said to friends after the trial that in contrast to Abuhatzira's image, he, Siegel, was not especially impressed by the man's ability. Even his friends in TAMI say that in the infrequent closed-door discussions that Abuhatzira has agreed to conduct in a forum of 10 or more people, he is not exceptionally noticeable for original ideas and effective suggestions.

The list of those who were disappointed in him continued to grow in the years of TAMI's existence: Fuad Ben-Eli'ezer, Shlomo Buhbut, Eli Dayan, Eli Artzi, and young people like Asher 'Idan, Nahum Menahem, and Yemini Ben-Dror who came into the movement in order to establish something different, and it became evident to them that Abuhatzira was clearly anti-democratic.

However, he also has many admirers who bow to the man, if not to the name "Abuhatzira." The name moves something in their heart, and they are ready to follow him blindly and to do his bidding without question. It seems that Aharon Abuhatzira is able to win a seat in the Knesset only with this label. However, it is interesting that his followers do not only consist of loyal family members or foolish devotees. As such, for example, there is Dani 'Azriel, a jurist, Abuhatzira's selection for the position of director-general of National Insurance (in the good days of TAMI when it had plenty

of executive positions). And there was also Vicky Shiran, a former TAMI spokesperson and a spokesperson for the Ministry of Absorption in the days of Minister Aharon Uzan. She says: "Aharon Abuhatzira has not disappointed me as a person and a personality. My respect for him has not changed. It is true that he has not been democratic. He has led TAMI in a rather authoritarian manner and has used intra-party political manipulations, however the alternative did not seem better. In all the parties there is the rule of bossism. What kind of democracy is there in the Citizens' Rights Movement, for example? Are its members of Knesset controlled by the institutions? So Abuhatzira is also a boss.

"He is a very wise, and understandably also a clever, person. His inability to derive media profits from the remaining seat is part of his personality. He is a closed and introverted person, and this gives him great difficulty. His style of speaking is also not biting and provocative. He is unable to do what Shulamit Aloni and Yossi Sarid would do as a faction of one. I don't understand what they want from him. Who doesn't use manipulations? In this respect he is no different than others. Manipulations are also used in order to promote ideologies."

Aharon Abuhatzira has full backing from all the arms of the family including financial support from affluent people like Nissim Gaon and Steve Shalom. They have helped him in the past, and they will continue to help him in the future. Steve Shalom's wife, Lillian Wein, is also one of Abuhatzira's admirers. Woe is to anyone who says something bad about him in her presence. In her many visits to Israel she "sells" Abuhatzira to anyone who will listen. In her meetings with Prime Minister Shim'on Peres, she has tried on more than one occasion to serve as a mediator between them (on her own initiative and not as anyone's emissary). She once said to Peres: In the Labor Party they give Aharon nothing. Your people are preventing you from doing the right things and taking to yourself the wisest man in Israeli politics. And to another senior person in the Labor Party Lillian Wein recently said: Be aware, Aharon is a genius.

Really?

Ben-Tziyon Rubin, a former member of Knesset and deputy minister who remained at home in Netanya after the defeat of Abuhatzira's action, says: "Aharon is regarded by everyone as a prince. The merit of the fathers and the family still shines on many of the Moroccan immigrants. He is an astute and wise politician, sharp as a razor, and knows how to present alternatives and to anticipate actions." On the other hand, despite his being a tactician of the first rank and a person with acute political sensibilities, he is not a leader of the masses and not a visionary. Binyamin Ben-Eli'ezer says: Had I established a school for political activism, I would have made him a chief instructor." And Yemini Ben-Dror says about him: "In small exercises of section against section and branch against branch, he is manipulator number 1."

And indeed, the rise and fall of TAMI were functions of the rise and fall of Abuhatzira. He is TAMI. He has never listened to anyone but himself. He

decided everything himself, and he believes that there is no wiser person than he in everything connected with political estimates. He demonstrated his talent in his ability to have decisions made in the paralyzed institutions of the party that he established. It is astounding how he is able to wrap people around his finger. He is a master of language. People would come to him filled with feelings of injustice, bitterness, and frustration. After a short while, they would leave his office satisfied and with no complaints without the leader having to move an eyelid. The only thing that moved during the meeting were his feet placed one on top of the other on the large executive desk in back of which he sank into his armchair.

The naive people in TAMI have been waging a constant struggle for democratization in the party. Aharon Abuhatzira was their leader but without any intention of helping the process. At every meeting of the TAMI central committee he promised to bring the bylaws for approval at the next meeting. On every occasion he managed to sell reasons from various reasons to a long list of wise and intelligent people, and to this very day TAMI does not have a set of bylaws that befits an established party.

The tactic of the new members of TAMI is a model for political study. Through the years Aharon Abuhatzira has spoken of famous people who are on the verge of joining the movement. From time to time names have been leaked such as Brigadier General (Res) David Maimon, Eliyahu Navi, a professor of the Weizmann Institute and others. Like the bylaws, the affiliations have also not come about. Abuhatzira who is proud and confident is not fond of stars who are likely to threaten his firm status, and he is certainly not happy to bring them into his house. When Binyamin Ben-Eli'ezer made his first speech in the party, he received an extremely warm reception by the members of the central committee. They applauded enthusiastically for a long time. Only Abuhatzira sat frozen in his seat, and one of his confidants exclaimed: Fuad has dug a pit for himself, he is finished in TAMI. . .

We learned about Aharon Abuhatzira's iron nerves when he was the defendant in the two criminal trials. In one he was exonerated, and in the other he was convicted of theft and sentenced to 3 months imprisonment which he served in outside work with the Bet Dagan Police Department. He was not discouraged and he did not try to end his life, but instead he waited for the end of the term and began to organize his forces. He did not need any special efforts since during the entire time he had the complete backing of his family and his supporters.

Beyond his being an individualist and a person with a well-developed recognition of his own worth, he showed himself to be a person of courage, a rare quality in the average politician. This was reflected in his complaint in the NRP against Yitzhaq Rafael, and his competing against him for a real place in the party's list for the Knesset. At that time he joined in the intrigues of the members of the NRP young guard, Zevulun Hammer and Yehuda Ben-Meir, in order to remove Rafael from the list with the knowledge that if he lost, he would fly outside and be left with nothing. Nonetheless, he competed and won. Even his departure from the NRP and the establishment of TAMI attest to the fact that the man is not afraid of risks. He did not listen to his best friends who tried to dissuade him and who told him that his political future was finished because he had no chance of attaining the minimum percentage.

Abuhatzira listened to all of them with closed eyes, ignored the polls that confirmed the pessimistic estimates, inhaled another cigarette into his lungs, and decided to go against the stream. He won three seats and received much praise. However, the fact that he was not smart enough to exploit the considerable power that fell into his hands in order to build a real movement that would be able to cope with the problems of society showed his nakedness. As clever and wise as Aharon Abuhatzira is, as everyone says, he is not a leader who is capable of bursting forward. He is a man who knows how to speak but not to change. His entire doctrine is built on improvisations and spontaneous affiliations that are the result of timing. To take a pose, and at the proper moment land the blow and chalk up another success. Along this line he is an artist. The party and the structure have always been for him only a protected platform, not a creative or constructive one. It is difficult to get him involved in an ideological debate. It is much easier to see him with a paper and pen, forming and dissolving possible coalitions.

Abuhatzira will not admit it, but the four seats of SHAS knocked him down. He worked feverishly to find a way out of the cul-de-sac into which he was thrown. Together with Aharon Uzan, Abuhatzira came to Rabbi Ovadya Yosef and said approximately the following: You have won in the elections, congratulations, you have four seats. Come and let us form a federation of SHAS and TAMI. We will do the menial work, we will obtain contributions and bring money to the yeshivas, and the rabbis of SHAS will be responsible for the spiritual message and the establishment of new Sephardi communities. Rabbi Ovadya listened and did not commit himself to anything. Later, after internal discussions, it was decided to reject the offer. This did not stop him from continuing to get close to the new party. As such, he served as a voluntary advisor in the crisis involving SHAS and the NRP over the allocation of the Interior and Religious Affairs Portfolios in the unity government. On the other hand, he suggested to SHAS that it run together with TAMI in the elections to the Histadrut in order to deal a blow to the Hapo'el Hamizrahi list, even though eventually the two parties did not participate in the race. This did not prevent Yehuda Ben-Meir of the NRP from suggesting that Abuhatzira join a narrow-based government headed by the Alignment before the establishment of the unity government. Abuhatzira agreed. Instead, Ben-Meir withdrew a bit and suggested: You go first, give Peres the 61st vote so that he can establish a coalition, and we will join later. Abuhatzira then smiled and replied: What do you think, I am your lackey?

From the time he has been left on the outside, Abuhatzira has blossomed only in times of a crisis in the government and the coalition. At those times he walks through the corridors of the Knesset like a bridegroom before the wedding, straight-backed, with a happy face, and even his neck extended upward with a kind of pride. Every crisis adds red to his cheeks and a sparkle to his eyes.

The day after Shim'on Peres decided to fire Ari'el Sharon from the cabinet because of his critical comments, he tried in vain to calm his friend 'Ezer Weizmann who said to him: That's it, the government is finished.

Abuhatzira: There is no crisis, tonight the story will end. In the evening Sharon will appear before the media and ask to be forgiven.

Weizmann: That will not help him, I have concluded with Shim'on that there will be no forgiveness.

Abuhatzira: We will see you appearing before the public after the great Arik Sharon asks for forgiveness to explain why the government is falling. . .

This time he was right. But along the entire way it can be said that he has been suffering great disappointments. The caravan departs, and he remains behind, comforting his devotees and himself with the belief that "in politics the sun shines anew every day." In the meantime, like a sly fox, he lurks around the corner. Patience is one of his calling cards. Aharon Abuhatzira will wait on the side, even for years, and at the right moment, he will pounce on every chance prey, and even it will only be a temporary asset in his fading political estate.

[Box, p 8]

Now I Have Time for the Children

[Question] How does an isolated man in the Knesset feel?

[Answer] It would be absurd to say that I feel good. Certainly not. But a politician must know how to live in every situation. I would prefer to be a member of a faction with several members of Knesset.

[Question] How does it feel to sit with nothing to do, without a ministerial portfolio, without power, with an enormous amount of spare time?

[Answer] I will remind you that until 1977 I was only a member of Knesset and since 1981 I have not been in the cabinet. So I have already become accustomed to be a member of Knesset and a member of committees. Secondly, after the last elections I decided that even if TAMI receives a ministerial position, I will not take it for myself at least for the first 2 years.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] Since the end of 1979 I have been in a vortex of a personal struggle. It seems to me that no public figure in the position of minister or member of Knesset has endured such an extended period of suffering like 4 years. It was a psychological, physical, and family conflict. After I finished with this, I decided that I needed a rest. I had to relax from the pressure of public work.

[Question] What do you do in your spare time?

[Answer] I don't have much time except for political activity. During the last year, whenever I wasn't in Jerusalem and I was able to get home in the early hours, I tried to do this and be with the children. This is something I haven't done in recent years. Now I am available for them, to help and

guide them. In the late hours when everyone is sleeping, I read. I have been a bookworm since my childhood. I am an avid reader. Mainly history and literature, and from time to time also engrossing detective stories for variety. I also enjoy writing during these hours. In recent years I have been collecting considerable material that I will use in the future. For a certain period of time I was writing a diary, however unfortunately, I did not keep it up because of the pressure I was under.

[Question] But your contribution in the Knesset has been rather meager. It is evident that you submitted no questions and not one item for the agenda. You spoke four times at a plenary session since the present Knesset was formed, and you appeared at only one-third of the meetings of the Finance Committee of which you are a member.

[Answer] I have not checked how much time I sat in every meeting. I know that there are those who enjoy seeking criticism and locating numbers and percentages, but the fact that I am a member of the Finance Committee does not mean that I presume to be an expert on every subject that comes up for discussion in the committee. The committee deals with a thousand and more subjects. If the subject is the capital market, for example, that is a subject which I understand. I listen to members of Knesset whom I consider to be experts on the subject. I get impressions from their position and decide how to vote, but I avoid the meeting when tens of delegations come to appear before the committee on this subject. True, I do not submit questions. Not once did I purchase this patent of coming in the morning, collecting the newspapers, marking 50 news items, and formulating questions from them. I don't work for the press. The same thing applies to proposals for the agenda. When I have something to ask, I ask it. I do not measure my activity by its quantity.

[Question] Does TAMI have a right to an independent existence?

[Answer] Absolutely. It is precisely this government that proves how much an enormous public in Israel needs a political movement that will give it its backing. As long as there will be no better social alternative, I will recommend to my friends to continue to compete independently. Even as a history teacher I learned that a struggle for a concept and principles experiences difficult times. One day you are more successful and another day, less. Perseverance and patience eventually pay off. I am not influenced by polls and what people say. I go with what I believe. I have no doubt that if we go to elections again, we will certainly retain our seat.

[Question] Why don't you return home to the NRP ?

[Answer] I have not rejected the possibility that TAMI and the NRP will work together, but in the checks that I have made I have seen no chance of doing anything internally. I did not want to return to the wars of the Jews within the NRP. I knew what would happen in a roll-call vote of the NRP in which twice the number of their voters for the Knesset would vote. I am aware of these games, and I have no intention of taking part in games of deceit. With the existing statistics, nothing will change in the NRP even if a representative committee were established, and the party will continue to lose strength.

[Question] Are you considering leaving political life, or will you devote yourself to politics for many years?

[Answer] I never thought that I would be a politician. On the contrary, when I saw politicians in our home, I regarded politics with revulsion. But one day, by chance, I found myself involved, and I discovered that I was able to swim in this stream. However, I have not become an addict. Even today I can stop. As long as I can influence and have the possibility of contributing and changing, I will remain. I have no problem in finding an alternative. I have a variety of possibilities, but I have still not reached even the age of 50 and I do not have a departure date.

[Box, p 20]

They Do Not Want Him

In politics, like in soccer, they only remember the final result and not the fact that in the last elections TAMI lacked only a few votes in order to receive a second seat. Abuhatzira and his people found it difficult to digest the blow of defeat. "We are in no one's pocket," frequently declared the leader for the purpose of drawing advantages and political and authority assets from the only seat.

When he began his campaign of jumping between the parties, he quickly found out that the two big ones did not want him. His conditions were rejected outright. The happy days of TAMI, when it was possible for them to hold the Likud by the throat with seats and budget allocations, had ended. One seat is not three, and even if it is held by the wisest and most clever person, he is nullified in a broad coalition of national unity. Abuhatzira spoke with David Levy, Arik Sharon, and others about joining the Likud, and he wanted to secure three real places. They did not reject the demand, and they said that they would consider it. However, in the top echelon it was decided that it would not be considered. At the most they would guarantee only Abuhatzira's place, and even this only in a time of trouble.

In conversations with the heads of the Alignment, Abuhatzira was more modest and sought to secure only two places. A fourth of the top echelon -- Peres, Rabin, Navon, and Bar-Lev who were joined for the purpose of discussion by Moshe Shahal and 'Uzi Bar'am -- rejected his demand immediately. Many members explained to the heads of the party that Abuhatzira was an undesirable personality at 110 Hayarqon Street.

Before the elections there were rumors that Abuhatzira would join Yahad. Abuhatzira and 'Ezer Weizmann were old friends. 'Ezer loves him and frequently consults with him. After Abuhatzira was convicted of crimes, Weizmann commented that it would be difficult for him to bring him in to the new party. Abuhatzira maintains that in his view, his joining Yahad was never under consideration.

The surprising birth of SHAS with its four seats was the overwhelming proof of Abuhatzira's inability to exploit the ethnic course on which TAMI had

been riding since its beginning. As a history teacher and a renowned tactician, Abuhatzira tried to join the new party by exploiting the confusion of the SHAS leaders who were stunned by the magnitude of their success and did not know how to organize their first steps in the political world. In SHAS they considered the offer and decided that Abuhatzira was not suitable for them. He was not the type that would work as a team member, and it was difficult to assume that in the long run he would agree to follow the instructions of the Council of Sages. They say quietly today that they were afraid of damaging their image.

So Abuhatzira has remained alone with that charge of self-confidence and expression of self-importance. He is certain that his big day will yet come.

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ISRAEL

NEW ANTIAIRCRAFT ELECTRO-OPTICAL SYSTEMS

Tel Aviv BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR in Hebrew No 50-51, Apr 86 p 39

[Text] The Anti-aircraft corps exposes three of its systems. Its commander, Brig Gen Eytan Yariv, verifies that these systems will turn the Anti-aircraft Corps into one of the most advanced, technologically. "The Anti-aircraft Corps is undergoing a transition toward the acquisition of sophisticated electro-optical systems which are cheaper and less cumbersome than existing systems. These systems have a profound influence on the operational capability of the tools and equipment."

The first system is the one installed in the Hawk missile battery. It has been installed for 18 months, and no one disputes that it has made a great contribution to the operational capability of these missiles. The system helps identify planes at a great distance. The Hawk batteries have been receiving data on targets from stand alone electro-magnetic systems and control units. This sometimes causes difficulties in identifying the targets. The new system was developed in order to provide an electro-optical solution to this problem, a solution which will improve the identification capability of the battery. Early identification enables maximal utilization of the missile's range. The system, a product of Oren Electronics, is a long range television system installed on the locking radar. The radar passes a closed circuit video image to the screen, in the heart of the control unit. The system enables viewing targets in good weather when the locking radar is locked on them.

The system includes a steering lever which enables the operator to maneuver the control circuit of the locking radar based on the television image. The function of this steering lever is to follow the target on the screen. It is planned to add a television monitor that will enable automatic tracking of the target, thus relieving the controller from this manual operation. The system enables tracking attack planes, too.

A simple and cheap sight, a product of MABAT, also aids in maximal utilization of the missile's range by resolving the problem of long range identification. It is an optical sight, installed on the L-70 anti-aircraft cannons. There was a need to replace the firing control system. The many technicians that were needed prompted the Corps to look for alternate solutions. The D-7 sight is now the basis for the system, while the turret and observation system have

been maintained. The sight has a laser distance gauge, a television camera, and a new computer installed on it. The system functions as follows: The turret, with all its systems, feeds the computer data on the target. The computer processes the data and outputs displacement information. This is accomplished due to the computer's ability to take into account all corrections necessary because of meteorological conditions, muzzle speed and other factors. The new sight system can function in difficult field conditions. It is simple and comfortable from the human engineering point of view.

The system caused a revolutionary change since from the very first it became possible to investigate the action and aiming capability of the battery. Each sight can be connected to a VCR which receives the same image as does the commander. The audio channel of the VCR records the battery's communication. Any action on the sight is thus recorded. The Air Force is now examining the possibility of installing a VCR on each such system.

The third system is a night vision system on the Chaparral. The system was produced by Honeywell, as per an Air Force order. Up to now short range anti-aircraft batteries were not operational at night because of the inability to identify the target at night. Thanks to this new system the Chaparral has become the short range anti-aircraft equipment with the best potential for night-time operation.

The system consists of a FLIR camera installed on the turret and operated from within the tank. It works on the principle of thermal imaging and enables detection and identification of targets at night and in bad weather. The image scanned by the FLIR lens is identified by a system of mirrors. It is then projected on a system of sensitive detectors which emit electrical signals. These signals are converted to an image which can be projected on a television screen as the image of the object. The FLIR system is an innovative and sensitive system and it is hoped the Air Force will put it to good use.

8646

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ISRAEL

DETAILS FROM INDUSTRIAL ESPIONAGE CASES DISCLOSED

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT (7 YAMIM [7 DAYS] supplement) in Hebrew 16 May 86
pp 36-37

[Article by Tzvi Singer: "Information Battle"]

[Text] The telephone rings in the room of the director of the marketing department of the large chemical company. The man on the other end of the line says: "An agent has been planted in your company by your competitors. If you want his name, prepare \$5,000."

This occurred in September 1982. It was a moment in the information war being waged among large companies in Israel. The sums involved in the cases that will be described in this article are estimated in the tens of millions of dollars that are expended annually for industrial espionage and its prevention. All the facts that will be described are taken from cases of investigations that were conducted in the hard reality of the Israeli business world. The name of the game: Information is money.

What happened in that chemical company? Tuvya Emsal, a private investigator who was called to locate the "plant," relates: Exactly 24 hours after the first conversation, the mysterious voice on the other end of the telephone line was heard again. Emsal's advice to his customer was to record the conversation and to set a meeting on that very day between the director-general of the company and the "Deep Throat."

The meeting was indeed arranged to take place in one of the well-known coffee shops of Tel Aviv. The people from Emsal's investigations office positioned themselves opposite the coffee shop. Every word was recorded, every moment photographed.

"The information in my hand," begins the elegant young man who identified himself as the anonymous telephone caller, "can save you considerable damage. If you want to know the identity of the agent who was planted in your company by your competitors, give me \$5,000."

After extended negotiations, the director-general managed to reduce the informer's demands to only \$500. The green bills passed quickly from hand to hand. The name of the "spy," who was planted in the chemical company by the competitor company, was written on a small piece of paper and given to the director-general.

"The afternoon hours of that very day," relates Tuvya Emsal, "were devoted to a vigorous search in the card file of the workers. We located the name in one of the company's production departments, and in the meantime we received the information also on the identity of the 'Deep Throat,' on whom we had put a tail from the moment he left the coffee shop. To our surprise we found that he was a private investigator from one of the offices in Tel Aviv. An additional check disclosed that the 'plant' in the chemical company was also a private investigator from the same office. This was a case of betrayal: The 'planted' agent was turned in by his co-worker for \$500."

"We decided," relates Tuvya Emsal, "to exploit the situation for our benefit and establish a special team in the company that would work on the development of a 'new and revolutionary product' that never existed and to assign to it the spy who was planted by the competitors. The objective was to confuse the competitor and to inundate him with false information that would cause him heavy losses."

The story ended in a way that surprised even Tuvya Emsal. On the morning after the meeting in the coffee shop, the "plant" did not appear for work. A short investigation revealed that the informer who had exposed the spy in the chemical company committed two acts of treachery. After he turned in his friend, he warned him to leave before he was seized. The double agent played a triangular game.

[Boxed item: How To Place a Plant]

A private investigator with considerable experience in the planting of agents for the purposes of industrial espionage says: "In order to place such an agent successfully you must first of all carefully select someone who is suitable for the task. He must be familiar with the work that he will be performing, and you must trust him completely. The selection of suitable persons for such a task involves first and foremost an extensive investigation of the candidate's background. The investigation includes a polygraph examination, a graphological examination, and a psychological test.

"The agents that I plant sign a legal commitment of truthfulness for me along with a financial commitment in the event of a personal failure. In certain tasks the agent is given periodic polygraph examinations in order to be assured of the reliability of the information that he provides.

"Such an agent receives from me a net sum of \$1,500 monthly in addition to the salary that he receives in the workplace where he has been 'planted.' During the waiting period, until he is inserted into the target company, he receives \$750 monthly."]

[Boxed item: Professional Advanced Training]

The increasing interest in industrial espionage was also recently reflected in a special conference on the subject that was held several weeks ago. Participating in the conference that was conducted by the Jerusalem Management Institute were the leaders of the technological industries in Israel,

representatives of the kibbutz industry, researchers from several universities, and major entrepreneurs. Among others, there were representatives of Tadiran, the Digital Computers Corporation, industrialists in the field of biotechnology, and representatives of the investment companies of the large banks.

Appearing at the conference were Tuvya Emsal, Tzvi Ehrlich, Lawyer Tzali Reshef, and the legal graphologist Avraham Levi.]

The planting of agents, the leaking of false information (in the jargon of intelligence people: disinformation), secret recordings and tails -- all of these have become part of the survival efforts of tens of companies. What is the true scope of industrial and commercial espionage in Israel? The private investigator, Tzvi Ehrlich, estimates that about \$20 million to \$25 million flow every year to private investigative companies from firms that are prepared to pay huge sums of money for industrial espionage and its prevention.

One of Ehrlich's recent cases sheds light on the scope of the information war that is now being conducted in the economy. The file involves an investigation of the theft of a chemical formula that was developed by the developer of a well-known preparation in the field of cosmetics.

Facts: A cosmetic preparation that was widely advertised in its time as a revolutionary Israeli product managed in recent years to capture a significant segment of the market. Recently the chemist who developed the preparation and the company that produces it have begun to suspect that the formula for producing the preparation has been stolen and is about to be leaked to one of its competitors.

After a strenuous 2-month investigation that cost the company tens of thousands of dollars, Ehrlich discovered the person who stole the secret formula. He was a chemist who was employed in the laboratory of the developer of the preparation.

Ehrlich discloses little about his work methods. However, he agrees to play for us a part of a secret recording in which the suspect confessed without intending to do so.

"We succeeded in creating the impression that we were representatives of a foreign company that was interested in purchasing the secret chemical formula from the suspect," relates Ehrlich. "We gained his trust, and finally we got to the point of signing a contract with him. The negotiations over the sections of the contract were completely recorded secretly. He demanded \$75,000 for the secret formula, and after a series of secret recordings, we succeeded in proving that the man violated the contract of secrecy which he had signed, and as such he committed a crime."

Industrial espionage actually encompasses all the fields of activity of the industrial, commercial, and financial companies in Israel. A company that will obtain the list of customers of a competitor company will eliminate the advantage of the competitor. An industrial firm that obtains the marketing secrets of a competitor will hit the competitor in an extremely sensitive

area, the marketing system. The leaking of information on the date that a new product is to appear on the market and the nature of the advertising campaign that will be conducted for it will provide the capability to defeat the attempt to have the product penetrate the market. The struggle for information is at times a struggle of to be or not to be.

Eli Gershoni, a private investigator who specializes in industrial espionage: "In the case that I am talking about, several woodworking companies in northern Israel were involved. There was severe competition among the companies. One of them that was losing the race that had been going on for 10 years came to me and asked me to help insert an agent in the marketing department of the competitor company. I looked for a serious person with considerable experience in marketing. When I found him I waited for an opportunity. Three months later he was accepted for work in the marketing department of the competitors."

The espionage literature calls the planted agent a mole. Gershoni's man was an effective mole. For about 8 months he provided those who planted him with information on all the secrets of the new products that were in the process of development, on the target dates for the release of these products to the market, and even a list of the customers.

Gershoni: "In accordance with this information, the entire marketing system was changed, and even a part of the production system of the company for which we worked was changed. The result was a significant improvement in its situation vis a vis that of its competitor."

After about 8 months the industrial spy was asked to end the transmittal of information and remain "dormant" until he would again be called upon for action. And indeed, 3 months later, the opportunity came.

It was at the time when those who planted the secret agent had entered into business negotiations with one of the owners of the competitor company over the purchase of 60 percent of its stock. The agent was asked by those who placed him to become friendly with that stockholder and to pass all information regarding the man and his methods in the conduct of negotiations. "As a result of this information," relates Eli Gershoni, "the purchase was made in a short time and at about a 30 percent lower cost than what was estimated initially. As a gesture of thanks for his loyal services, the former industrial spy continues today to work in the large company that was formed with the purchase."

In which industrial and commercial branches has industrial espionage become a vital necessity?

Eli Gershoni: "Medicines, computers, and electronic equipment are the leading branches."

Tzvi Ehrlich: "There are no limits to the involvement in industrial espionage. It can be in the branches of sophisticated industry, it can be also in the ice cream manufacturing branch. The principle is the same: Find out the secrets of your commercial competitor, prevent him from finding out your secrets, and hit him at the most sensitive point."

The investigators with whom I talked claim that there is a gap between the desire of businessmen to use industrial espionage and their ability to observe the first rules of secrecy. "The most highly classified business documents can be found in the garbage cans next to the companies in Israel," says Tzvi Ehrlich. "Telex copies, commercial contracts, 'copy' papers are a mine of information. There is no awareness at all of the screening of the content of telephone conversations, protecting documents within the offices, taking precautions when documents are transmitted by facsimile and the most important principle that every beginning field security officer learns: the principle of compartmentation. There are very few companies in Israel in which care is taken to limit the number of persons who have access to secrets and that each person have knowledge only of the secrets that are necessary for his work. The lack of strictness on this principle can cause a peck of troubles."

Tuvia Emsal: "In the United States the protection of commercial secrets has become a real specialization. In the serious firms where there are not 'mere' security officers, those who oversee field security have the title of 'vice president of the company for security affairs' with all that this title implies in terms of conditions and authorities. There are companies who maintain an independent security department with its own polygraph facility that is involved in prevention 365 days a year. In many companies the employees take periodic polygraph examinations in order to verify that they have not betrayed the confidence of their employers."

About one-half year ago a large company that manufactures textile products for export came to Emsal. The heads of the company told him that for a number of months they were losing in bids for export one after another. Suspicion increased when they found out that the competing company won in all of these bids "at the point of a dollar."

"In the first stage," says Tuvia Emsal, "I checked all the telephone lines, and they were not being tapped. In the second stage I studied systematically all the marketing processes and everyone involved in them from beginning to end. Slowly it became evident that the information was being leaked systematically from within. In this stage we decided to give all the employees a polygraph examination."

At the end of the examination all management personnel and their close acquaintances were innocent of any wrongdoing. One senior employee was not examined since he was serving abroad as a company representative at that time. When he came home, he was invited to the office of the director-general and requested to take an examination. The examination showed that the man had lied. In an interrogation conducted by Emsal the employee broke down and admitted that for about a year he had been selling the company's secrets to competitors for \$2,000. Spies can be found among the senior employees of industrial firms and they can also be found among low-ranking officials. A talkative secretary can destroy a company.

"I suggest to my customers to check all employees," says Tzvi Ehrlich. "Even the clerical worker who prints your documents. Such a clerical worker is

likely to be the source of trouble. It is precisely she who can be influenced in many ways to provide the most highly classified information."

In the battle to obtain information it is possible at times to be satisfied with a technique that does not involve the use of agents. "One of the most common methods," says lawyer Tzali Reshef who specializes in industrial counterespionage, "is to enter into negotiations with another company on the joint marketing, advertising, or development of a product -- and to 'blow up' the negotiations at the moment that the information you need comes into your hands."

Reshef's guidance to his customers: "To make the other party sign, before any such negotiations, agreements on secrecy and noncompetition. This provides a certain legal defense against such 'exercises', but on the other hand, one must not forget that large world companies that enter in negotiations with companies in Israel are generally not prepared to accept dictates of this type. It is very difficult to get them to sign agreements of secrecy and noncompetition."

Many Israeli companies find themselves the target of double industrial espionage: of Israeli competitors and competitors from other countries. Yiga'el Ehrlich, the chief scientist of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, heads an important center of information. Ehrlich tells of an espionage attempt that was recently made by the commercial representative in Israel of a country that is not one of the western democracies. The commercial representative, who later turned out to be serving as a colonel in his country's army, appeared together with a representative of the foreign ministry of that country with an apparently innocent request: material on the research and development efforts of the Israeli petrochemical industry.

Ehrlich: "I gave them written material that had naturally been published a long time ago. Afterward they asked me if I would arrange for them to visit the petrochemical industrial companies in Israel. I was uncomfortable with this matter. On the one hand, I did not want to hurt them, and on the other hand, I knew that a sensitive area was involved. I told them: 'We are not the owners of the petrochemical companies. You must send your request to them directly.' When they left, I quickly reported the intentions of the representatives of the foreign country to the owners of those companies." An additional channel for attempts to pump scientific and industrial information out of Israel is the binational research funds that Israel maintains with various countries throughout the world. Official delegations from abroad also attempt in their way to pump information. The same applies to the scientific attaches of the various embassies in Israel. One of the tasks of a good scientific attache is to be au courant on all the scientific articles that are published from time to time in the country in which he serves. "This is a completely open and legitimate channel through which an enormous amount of information can be obtained," says Yiga'el Ehrlich.

There are very few stories of the international industrial espionage that have been published to date in Israel. However, in January 1984 an employee of the Israel Water-Planning Authority was suspected of selling commercial secrets to Saudi Arabia.

Facts: On 23 January a technician in the Israel Water-Planning Authority was arrested by Fraud Division of the Tel Aviv Police Department. The arrest was made in the lobby of one of the prestigious hotels in the city. The man, a company technician, was arrested after negotiations that he had conducted with an undercover policeman for the sale of the commercial secrets of the Israel Water-Planning Authority.

The Israel Water-Planning Authority then developed a special system for subterranean storage and stockpiling of gasoline and registered it as its exclusive patent. A small number of the company's employees, including the suspect, a 50-year old resident of Ramat Gan who had worked in the company for several years, had access to the patent.

The suspicion was that the man had decided to exploit the patent in order to make easy profits. The police charged then that he had photographed the drawings and data of the patent and left for Paris. There he contacted businessmen connected to oil-producing countries, including an extremely wealthy Saudi businessman, and suggested that they buy the patent. The Saudi expressed considerable interest in the matter, but the two did not reach any agreement, and they decided to resume discussions of the matter at another time.

In the meantime the employee returned to Israel and continued his efforts to sell the patent. This time he went to an Israeli businessman who was known to have contacts with foreign oil companies. He suggested that he purchase the patent or at least serve as an intermediary between him and the foreign oil companies.

Early in the negotiations the Israeli businessman had the feeling that the one who was offering the deal was betraying a trust and involved in an improper act. He was mainly alarmed that the other party was ready to sell the patent to hostile countries. The Israeli businessman decided, therefore, to bring the Fraud Division of the Tel Aviv Police Department into the picture. After the police investigators heard the story they wanted to capture the suspect red-handed, and therefore, they instructed the Israeli businessman not to reject the suspect outright but to direct him to a "friend, a wealthy businessman" who was actually a policeman.

On 23 January the suspect, the businessman, and the "friend" met for a wrap-up discussion that was held in a hotel lobby. In exchange for providing the patent the Israel Water-Planning Authority employee requested 10 percent of the investment in the construction of the gasoline storage facilities. The undercover policeman "agreed" to the deal, but when the three of them ended the negotiations and stood up, detectives suddenly burst into the lobby and arrested the Israel Water-Planning Authority employee who was completely shocked.

Israel is not inactive in the area of industrial espionage. However, according to Yiga'el Ehrlich and others, it does not do enough in this area. Yo'el Tzur, the register of patents in the Ministry of Justice, even called openly for the heads of the large industrial companies in Israel to increase their efforts and seek information in the open libraries of patent registers throughout the world.

A patent, from the moment it is registered, is protected only in the country in which it is registered. The "theft" of patents from country to country is not considered a crime or a cause for demanding damages -- unless these patents were registered and approved precisely at the end of a year -- even in the country that carried out the "theft."

"Of the patents registered in the world, 99.9 percent are not registered and protected in Israel," says Yo'el Tzur. "All you have to do is to copy them and register them in Israel. This is completely legal and is likely to save many companies considerable costs for research and development."

How does the law protect industrial and commercial secrets?

"Legally this is a break-in area, says the Jerusalem lawyer Tzali Reshef, "If someone breaks into your office and photographs a document worth millions, you can charge him in court only with encroachment and causing damage to the door. This is how absurd it is. At most you can try to take out a complaint against the company that sent the person who broke in on the legal charge of 'making money illegally.' This section is generally used as a last resort when it is not possible to take out a complaint on the basis of more significant sections."

Reshef's conclusion: "What is needed is a law that will protect commercial secrets. Of course, the public interest of freedom of information and an open society must also be taken into account."

In this situation, in which the commercial secret is unprotected, the jurists have been forced to seek indirect ways to protect the commercial secrets of the customers. Tzali Reshef lists several of these methods:

- * Have your employees sign a commitment on the maintenance of secrecy and noncompetition. Signing the noncompetition commitment is designed to prevent situations in which employees move from company to company with all the secrets of their previous employers.

- * In every case of negotiations with other companies, have their representatives also sign a commitment on the maintenance of secrecy and noncompetition. Violation of such a commitment during the course of negotiations can serve as a basis for a legal complaint on the charge of conduct of negotiations not in good faith.

- * The privacy protection law prohibits pursuing a person in a disturbing manner, the photographing of documents without permission and giving their contents to others, and the photographing of people against their will in a manner that violates their privacy. "The problem," says Tzali Reshef, "is that the law is designed to protect the privacy of the individual and not commercial secrets. It is only in very few cases that this law can be used in a case of industrial espionage."

5830

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14 July 1986

ISRAEL

SOLAR ENERGY PLANT PLANNED TO PROVIDE POWER IN SOUTH

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 19 May 86 p 10

[Text] Luz Ta'asiyot is to report to the Electric Company next month regarding the feasibility of the latter constructing a solar energy plant.

According to the survey the idea of a solar power plant in the southern part of the country is economically sound and may relieve some of the supply problems in peak hours. The survey was conducted when it became clear that the Electric Company did not tend to adopt a previous Luz recommendation according to which Luz was to construct a 25 megawatt power plant at the cost of \$60 million, and was then to sell electricity to the Electric Company at reduced rates, rates set by the Electric Company for off-peak hours for industrial plants.

The advantage of the last Luz recommendation is that the solar power plant can be completed in the relatively short period of 18 months to 2 years. The original plant would have taken 8 years to construct, an average time for a conventional power plant. In addition, this type of a power plant will enable Israel to diversify its energy sources at a relatively small foreign currency investment. Yahel Zilqa, who is in charge of the project, points out that the feasibility of this plant will increase as oil prices go up again. International estimates are that they will stabilize at about \$18 a barrel.

The solar power plant that Luz plans for the first phase is rather small at 35 megawatts, compared with 400-550 megawatts for other Electric Company power plants. The Electric Company is already looking for suitable sites in the south where solar power plants, producing 100 megawatts, may be constructed.

8646

CSO: 4423/113

AFGHANISTAN

TEHRAN: MOSCOW CONTROLS DRA MEDIA PROGRAMMING

Ld221714 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 21 May 86

[Text] Afghanistan's television has become a part of a radio and television organization under the supervision of the USSR. Therefore, the Soviet Government from now on will be in full control of the radio and television programs of Afghanistan. With this project, programs that will be prepared in Moscow will be relayed via satellite throughout Afghanistan. In order to advance this project, up to now six television transmitter stations have been set up in Ghazni, Jalalabad, Gandahar, Herat and Badakhshan.

IRNA, which reported this, added: At present, the programs of Afghanistan's television are prepared in Kabul and are then relayed via satellite to Moscow for approval.

/7051

CSO: 4640/366

AFGHANISTAN

BRIEFS

EXHIBITION DISPLAYED IN ROME--Rome--A reading from the Koran and joint prayers for peace in Afghanistan and for the Mujahidin who died fighting for the liberation of their country were offered by both Catholics and Muslims in the basilica of S. Lorenzo in Lucina in Rome. This was the first time that this has happened in a Roman Catholic basilica. The initiative was undertaken by the periodical, WORLD PROSPECTS, which received, through the Afghan resistance, 15 unpublished photographs documenting atrocities against the civilian population. The huge photographs, arranged on panels, are displayed under the portico of the basilica of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, in the heart of Rome. Among those present at the exhibition were leaders of the resistance, representatives of the Committee for the Liberation of Afghanistan, headed by Gabriella Bukman, European coordinator for resistance to the Soviets in Afghanistan. "The Afghan victims and those who are fighting for the independence of their country will have the active solidarity of the Christian Democrats, who tomorrow will open their congress. The Christian Democratic Party has always fought for the ideals of freedom." Thus spoke Gian Paolo Cresci, director of WORLD PROSPECTS and DC national councillor who, together with representatives of the Mujahidin, met with reporters in the churchyard of the basilica. [Text] [Rome IL POPOLO in Italian 27 May 86 p 26] 8255/13252

MUJAHIDIN DOWN 2 HELICOPTERS--Islamabad, 17 Jun (SPA)--Afghan Mujahidin downed two helicopters killing all those on board, destroyed 5 tanks, and killed 40 Soviet troops and wounded 100 others in operations against Soviet military posts in (De Mogholan) in Lowgar Province south of Kabul on 13 June. A spokesman for the Mujahidin said that vicious battles took place last week in Sher Sorkh which resulted in the death of 60 Soviet soldiers and the wounding of 25 others, and the martyrdom of one Mujahidin. The spokesman added that the Mujahidin succeeded in destroying 4 armored troop carriers and wounding 45 Soviet troops during an attack they launched in order to assist their brethren who were under siege in Sher Sorkh. They lifted the siege and forced the Soviet forces to retreat to the Gandahar desert. [Text] [Riyadh SPA in Arabic 0810 GMT 17 Jun 86 GH] /7051

CSO: 4604/39

IRAN

NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH FRANCE DISCUSSED BY CHARGE

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 19 Apr 86 p 2

[Text] Paris-IRNA--The charge d'affaires of the Iranian Embassy in Paris said: "The first step towards normalization of relations between Tehran and Paris must be taken by France."

In an interview with the French television's Channel 3, the Iranian charge in France, Gholamreza Haddadi, referred to the longstanding cultural and political relations between the Iranian and French nations and said that Iran's rich culture was known to almost every one. He added: "We believe that the relations between our two countries, that had their ups and downs at certain points in history, can regain their historic balance through the goodwill of French authorities as it is in the interest of both countries to consolidate these relations."

He pointed out: "Those among the French politicians who have ignored this reality have made a historical error."

In response to a question regarding the visit of Andre Rousse, the French deputy minister of foreign affairs, to Iran, Haddadi noted that this recent visit of the French delegation to Iran was the result of a French initiative and called it an important move. He added: "The Islamic Republic of Iran considers the recent statements made by French authorities with regard to normalization of relations between the two countries as a positive step but it is necessary that the French authorities also undertake actions in the same direction."

The Iranian charge in Paris added: "As France was the cause of the deterioration of relations with Iran, it should also take the first step towards the normalization of such relations." In response to a question regarding Iran's conditions for normalizing relations with France, Haddadi stated: "These conditions will also include the unconditional repayment of Iran's loan to France."

It should be reminded that in 1975 Iran extended a 1 billion dollar loan to the French Nuclear Energy Commission and that France's non-payment of this loan has been one of the areas of conflict between the two countries ever since the revolution.

Since some time ago, following the appointment of Jacques Chirac, the French Government has been conducting negotiations aimed at resolving the financial disagreements between Iran and France.

With regard to the war, the Iranian charge d'affaires stated: "In 1967 General de Gaulle banned export of arms to Israel, the usurper, following the latter's invasion of Arab territory. It is similarly appropriate today for France to end its support of a regime who not only acted, in 1975, against the obligations it had under the Treaty of Algiers, but who also broke international laws and standards by using chemical weapons.

Mentioning the condemnation of Iraqi regime's use of chemical weapons by the United Nations' Security Council and the European Economic Community, and stressing the fact that France itself was a victim of deadly chemical weapons during World War I, he insisted upon France's independent condemnation of Iraq's use of chemical weapons.

Haddadi also stated that one of Iran's conditions was for France to remove its protection from Iranian escaped terrorists who were guilty of shedding the blood of innocent people and who were benefitting from the status of refugees and using French territory to conduct terrorist acts and train terrorists. He said: "People's demonstrations and the statements made by various French authorities and especially the local population are proof of the public opinion's hatred of the disturbing presence of these terrorists on French territory.

He called attention to the fact that recently the inhabitants of Auvers-sur-Oise where the traitor Rajavi resides, held a meeting to strongly object to the presence of the "Monafeqin" [hypocrites] in this locality. The mayor of this locality was also of the opinion that the only way to establish peace in this area was to move the Monafeqin to another location.

With regard to the United States' invasion of Libya, the charge of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Paris said: "The Islamic Republic strongly condemns the savage attack of America, this agent of international terrorism, on the Islamic Libyan State and considers this attack as an indication of America's weakness in the region. Haddadi added: "The Islamic Republic of Iran has declared its complete support of Libya and considers America's action to be not only directed against Libya but against all Muslims."

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CSO: 4640/294

IRAN

PARIS PAPER VIEWS VISIT BY MO' AYYERI

PM041206 Paris LE MONDE in French 24 May 86 pp 1, 5

[Alain Frachon report: "Improvement in Relations Between France and Iran"]

[Text] Did the visit to Paris by Iranian Deputy Prime Minister Ali Reza Mo'ayyeri which ended on Thursday 22 May, really start a dialogue which makes it possible to predict a "normalization" of relations between France and Iran in the near future? We must be very cautious before reaching any conclusion. The French and Iranians certainly heaped courtesies on each other during this visit, when Paris to some extent rolled out the "red carpet" for Mr Mo'ayyeri: He was received by Mr Mitterrand and Mr Chirac, by National Assembly Speaker Chaban-Delmas, and by Foreign Minister Jean-Bernard Raimond.

This is undoubtedly a new atmosphere, whereas relations between the two countries have been near to breaking point on many occasions since 1981. But on essential issues very few concessions seem to have been made by the two sides--judging from the public statements made by those concerned.

For instance, when addressing the diplomatic press at a luncheon on Thursday Mr Chirac said bluntly that "with regard to the conflict between Iran and Iraq, France can regard itself as Iraq's ally and friend." He stressed that Paris intended to "act accordingly" and that French policy was not open to "any change or development" in this connection.

Describing Iraq as an "ally" of France in this way is an expression which seems to leave little room for compromise on one of the essential aspects of the Franco-Iranian dispute. It is true that Mr Chirac nonetheless strongly emphasized that France was "fully prepared to normalize its relations with Iran." "It is in this spirit," he said, "that I thought it legitimate to open dialogue."

Before Mr Chirac made those remarks, the Iranian deputy prime minister had been relatively optimistic about this resumption of Franco-Iranian dialogue. During a press conference he gave considerable emphasis to "the friendly and understanding atmosphere" which prevailed during his talks in Paris, before adding: "we regard this visit as generally positive." He even praised the French prime minister, stating in particular: "With the arrival of Mr Chirac's government we have witnessed a positive development (in France): We have the impression that Mr Chirac is paying close attention to Iran's strategic position..., and this strengthens our conviction that we can reach agreement."

The aim is to "reach agreement" on three issues: The \$1-billion loan given by Iran to the Atomic Energy Commission in 1974. "The loan must be repaid unconditionally." Mr Mo'ayyeri said. The matter is technically very complicated, since France, as Mr Chirac pointed out, regards itself as "Iran's creditor for a series of major contracts which were cancelled without compensation" after the Iranian revolution. But both sides point out that studies are already well under way and that progress could be made rapidly.

The welcome given by France to opponents of the Islamic Republic, especially Mas'ud Rajavi's Mojahedin-e Khalq. Iran thinks they are carrying out subversive activities from French territory which are incompatible with the status of political refugees. Mr Mo'ayyeri said that Iran had applied for the extradition of some of these oppositionists, "those who have blood on their hands," he said. However, he refrained from giving details on this subject, although he hinted that Mr Rajavi was one of the people demanded by Tehran. Paris seems prepared to moderate the Mojahedin's militant activities somewhat but nonetheless, Mr Chirac pointed out, "France is not accustomed to expelling political refugees to their country of origin, and it is out of the question for it to take such steps."

That leaves the question of France's support for Iraq in the war it has been fighting with Iran for 4 years. Because it concerns regional balance, it is the thorniest aspect of the dispute between Paris and Tehran. Should Mr Chirac's remarks strongly reaffirming the importance of Franco-Iraqi relations be interpreted as being intended to reassure Baghdad, which is bound to be worried by signs of a rapprochement between Paris and Tehran? Mr Mo'ayyeri for his part was cautious. He merely said that he wanted France to observe "positive neutrality" in the conflict: Tehran is not asking France to give it military equipment but simply not to conclude any new arms contracts with Iraq. Whatever happens, it is clear that it is this question of Paris' attitude to the warring sides which will be decisive in the development of relations between France and Iran.

The French stress that Mr Mo'ayyeri's visit was not intended to allow the two sides to engage in detailed negotiations on the dispute, but "to create a favorable atmosphere." This has been done, they stress, pointing out that there is now "a real desire to make progress."

The backdrop to this revival of Franco-Iranian dialogue is of course the question of the French citizens being held hostage in Lebanon by pro-Iranian Lebanese Shi'ites. Mr Mo'ayyeri was categorical at first and explained that it was a "problem between France and Lebanon." "Although Iran has supporters throughout the world," he said, "it does not approve of all their actions." But the Iranian official immediately added that Tehran nonetheless intended to "make efforts" and "use its influence" to try to settle this question. It was a cautious remark, and it is obviously still too soon to assess its significance.

Similarly we can wonder about the precise significance of the precondition which Mr Chirac seemed to put forward when he said: "A nation which has Iran's responsibilities must be free of any kind of suspicion of connivance with any terrorist action or any hostage-taking. The precondition for any normalization is that the authorities of that country do all they can to help solve the problem of the French hostages."

IRAN

DISCUSSIONS ON PRESIDENTIAL DUTIES, RESPONSIBILITIES CONTINUE

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESIAMI in Persian 28, 30 Apr 86, 3 May 86

[28 Apr 86 p 11]

[Excerpt] Agenda:

After the pre-agenda speeches and the reminders of the representatives, the Majlis went into session and discussions were continued on the details of the proposal concerning the duties and responsibilities of the president of the Republic of Iran. Article 19 of this proposal was ratified as follows and the continuation of the investigation was postponed to tomorrow's session.

Part 5: Foreign and International Relations

Article 19. Iranian ambassadors abroad will be introduced to the president for his signature upon the suggestion of the minister of foreign affairs and the approval of the Cabinet. The president must sign the credentials of the ambassador within five days after his introduction.

Note. The credentials of the ambassadors of other countries are presented to the president for approval upon the approval of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the agreement of the Cabinet.

[30 Apr 86 p 11]

[Excerpt] The Ratifications of the Majlis

On the agenda, the examination of the proposal concerning the duties and responsibilities of the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran continued and several other areas of this proposal were examined as follows:

Article 20. Whenever the president wants to send an official message to the officials of foreign governments or issue an official communique or statement concerning the foreign policy of the country, he must send it to the Cabinet for discussion. Otherwise, the message or communique will be considered a personal one and not the official policy of the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Chapter 2. The Responsibilities of the President in the Implementation of the Constitution

Part 1: Introduction

Article 21. In order to protect the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran and in the implementation of Article 113 of the Constitution, the president is responsible for the implementation of the Constitution through supervision, acquiring information, inspection, follow ups, examination and other necessary steps as detailed below in the following cases. A. Halt or lack of implementation of a principle of the Constitution when there is no obstacle for its implementation.

B. Failure or inadequacy in implementing a principle or principles of the Constitution for the implementation of which the necessary conditions and resources are provided.

Part 2: Halt or lack of implementation of the principles of the Constitution.

Article 22. If there is a halt or lack of implementation of those principles of the Constitution for whose implementation there are no obstacles, the president will inform the highest concerned official and will ask the reason for the halt or lack of implementation. The responsible official must send his response to the president in detail, mentioning reasons. After the examination, should the halt or lack of implementation be proven to the president, if necessary, the case will be sent to the proper court.

Note. In the executive branch, correspondence will be through the prime minister. In the section on negotiations, the omission of Article 20 of the latter proposal was discussed, and after supporting and opposing statements and statements by the representative of the prime minister and the president, it was put to a vote and ratified.

Also, the paragraphs in Article 21 were discussed on the basis of Mr Kashani's proposal for omission, and after opposing and supporting views, it was put to a vote and ratified.

Mr Movahhedi-Kermani proposed the attachment of Article 26 of the government. Based on this proposal, participation in international conferences, seminars and meetings which take place at the level of the heads of countries are among the duties of the president.

Mr Fo'ad Karimi and Savoji spoke as the opponent and supporter. The representative of the Office of the Prime Minister opposed the proposal and the representative of the president supported it. Then the proposal was put to a vote and ratified.

[3 May 86 p 11]

[Excerpt] The Ratifications of the Majlis

In the segment of the Majlis discussions, Articles 22 and 23 of the proposal concerning the duties and responsibilities of the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran were examined. The above articles state: Article 22. If

there is a halt or lack of implementation in those principles of the Constitution in the implementation of which there is no obstacle, the president must inform the highest concerned official and question him as to the reasons for the halt or lack of implementation. The concerned official is responsible to send his response in detail, mentioning the reasons. If after the investigation, the halt or lack of implementation is proven to the president, if necessary, the case must be referred to the proper court.

Note. In the executive branch, correspondence will be through the prime minister.

Part 3. Negligence and Indolence in the Implementation of the Principles of the Constitution.

Article 23. Concerning that group of principles of the Constitution the start of which require special conditions, resources and circumstances, at the appropriate time, and when the obstacles have been eliminated, the president will inform the highest concerned official and request implementation. This official shall be responsible for investigating the matter and reporting the implementation of those principles and the obstacles to their implementation to the president within a maximum period of two months from the date the warning is received.

First a number of representatives proposed that the following phrases under Article 22 be omitted: "that group of" and "for the implementation of which there is no obstacle."

This proposal had no opposition and was ratified after being put to a vote. Mr Kashani proposed the following phrase be added to Article 22: If after examination the halt or lack of implementation is proven to the president, he should take steps to implement the principles or the principle and eliminate the resulting problems, and if the violation concerns the prime minister or the ministers, the matter will be referred to the Majlis. Otherwise, the case will be sent to the proper authority.

The above proposal had no opposition and was ratified after being put to a vote.

Then Article 22 was put to a vote and ratified. In Article 23, an amendment was proposed by Mr Savoji concerning the phrases "starting," "and elimination of obstacles," and "implementing obstacles," which was discussed. No one opposed it and after a vote was taken, it was ratified. Then, Article 23 was put to a vote and ratified.

After the recess, the Majlis went into session at 12 o'clock, but due to the participation of representatives in seeing off the travelers to Karbala, the session could not continue and the examination of the proposal on the responsibilities of the president was postponed to tomorrow.

IRAN

TEHRAN STRESSES ROLE OF MAJLIS ON ANNIVERSARY

GF280738 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0430 GMT 28 May 86

[Commentary by the Research Group of the Central News Unit: "The People's Expectations from the Respected Majlis"]

[Excerpts] Today, 28 May, is the anniversary of the creation of the Majlis. This Majlis has played a definitive and vital role during the sensitive and fateful years of the Islamic revolution in the guidance of the country's issues.

The Majlis is the light and hope not only for the oppressed people in this Islamic country but a source of hope for the oppressed of the world. This is why the work of the Majlis, the speeches of the deputies, and the general directions of this organization are all the focus of public opinion and the work of the Majlis is followed with special interest. The Majlis has taken revolutionary and basic decisions at sensitive and important times during the revolution, thus finding a place for this decisive organization among the people of the country.

Because of the basic and revolutionary actions of the Majlis, its sacrificing and sympathetic deputies are continuously under attack by the plots of the enemies of revolution, resulting in referred martyrs to the Islamic revolution.

There have been basic changes in the various aspects of society, politics, culture, and economy in the country since the success of the Islamic revolution and the turning of the cruel monarchy into an Islamic republic. Because of this the role of the Majlis, with regard to passing new laws to coincide with the aims and strategies of the Islamic republic, is felt more than that of other organizations.

During the past few years the fact that a legal vacuum was a basic stumbling block in the way of officials in carrying out their duties has been clear to everyone. Many, because of the existence of this legal vacuum in the social and economic fields, have taken advantage and stolen from the people as much as they can. Of course, it will take time to change laws left over from the old regime into laws fit for the Islamic regime and in line with the values of an Islamic society and some will take advantage of this lapse and will abuse it to their own benefit. But it is up to us and all officials, especially the respected deputies of the Majlis, to shorten their period as much as possible.

By removing the basis for abuse they will bind the hands of those who take advantage and loot.

If Islamic law is made in accordance with Islamic values, no one will ever be in a position to break the law or to take advantage of the situation with the excuse of not having laws or the existence of un-Islamic laws.

We must divide laws into two segments: Trivial and topical laws, and other basic and decisive laws whose existence or nonexistence will have a vital effect on various aspects of society. These will directly and indirectly affect the running of the society. The respected Majlis deputies must pay all their attention and effort in drawing up and passing basic laws. The passing of these laws and dealing with the people's problems, especially the oppressed levels of society who are pulling most of the weight of the revolution and the war, must be the main axis for action.

If the laws of the past regime were designed to safeguard the interests of a special group of people and capitalists, the Islamic Majlis must do all it can to pass laws that will benefit the oppressed and return their rights from looters and aggressors.

In the economic field, our Islamic society needs a series of decisive laws and basic actions that will lend a helping hand to the poor of society who suffered during the cruel years of the monarchy. In the social and cultural fields, there is a need for a series of basic laws to counter exposure to poisonous Western culture. These cultural attacks of the aggressors must be fought at the roots, legally.

Wasting time, with regard to passing the basic and necessary laws and paying attention to other minor issues causes abuse and looting and will give the enemies of the revolution an opportunity to create dissatisfaction. This also will dampen the enthusiasm of the real owners of the revolution. This is why it is necessary for the people's representatives to keep in mind their vital responsibility at this point of the revolution, as they have done in the past. By drawing up important and useful laws in the various fields of economy, social affairs, and culture, they should provide the groundwork to warm the hearts of the real owners of the revolution--the poor and oppressed of society, despite the fact that such action may not be pleasant for some people.

/7051

CSO: 4640-370

IRAN

TEHRAN CRITICIZES THATCHER'S ISRAEL VISIT

GF291441 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1100 GMT 29 May 86

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpt] What made the British prime minister visit occupied Palestine, particularly as she is the first British prime minister to visit Palestine since the Zionist regime was established there 39 years ago? What are the reasons behind this visit? The answer is not complicated, because all the plans are now clear, and there is nothing vague regarding the British role, which is designed to bolster and strengthen the Zionist entity.

The decision by British prime ministers since 1948 not to make an official visit to occupied Palestine and the careful adoption of positions--whose outward appearance showed amity and friendliness with the Arab governments, while inwardly they reveal grudges toward all the Arabs and Muslims--were neither intended to care for the feelings of the Arab and Islamic peoples nor to avoid enraging them or provoking their dissatisfaction with Britain. This position was attributed to the fact that the international conditions which followed the conclusion of World War II--as the allies were victorious--did not permit unveiling the faces of the superpowers. These conditions required that these imperialist powers hide their somber faces and seek Arab emity as the Arabs possess huge petroleum wealth in their countries. Everyone knows the extent of the superpower's need, including Britain, which was victorious in the war, for petroleum to rebuild what was damaged by the war. These powers, including Britain as we mentioned earlier, did their best to gain the friendship of the Arab countries in order to pillage their oil resources and thus operate the economic machinery in the West. Now as international imperialism executed its mean successive plots--which resulted in creating an imbalance in the petroleum market due to the role played by British imperialism through collusion with some reactionary petroleum governments--petroleum markets faced unusual recession. The imperialist powers exploited this recession to make the peoples fall to their knees and neglect them.

The fact is that as the rulers of the largest Arab country--which is Egypt--signed a peace treaty with the Zionist enemy, as the gates of the African Continent and of many Arab countries were opened to U.S. imperialism and to the Zionist enemy, and as the reactionary rulers continue to talk about secure Zionist borders, there were no justifications--under these conditions--to conceal the relations with the Zionist entity or not to put all the eggs in the

Zionist basket. From this premise, the visit of Thatcher to occupied Palestine took place. This visit revealed the malice of all the rulers of the reactionary regime who pant after holy shrines in London, Washington, and Tel Aviv.

/7051

CSO: 4604/40

IRAN

EMIGRE PAPER COMMENTS ON YAZDI'S CONTROVERSIAL TRIP TO U.S.

London KEYHAN in Persian 22 May 86 pp 1, 5

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] Washington—KEYHAN News Service—Reports in last week's London KEYHAN newspaper regarding Ibrahim Yazdi's secret trip to the U.S. have created new discussion in the political and media circles of Washington. The State Department spokesman announced that the U.S. visa granted to Ibrahim Yazdi was based on humanitarian reasons only and he was not going to meet any U.S. officials during his trip.

The WASHINGTON POST reported in an article that Ibrahim Yazdi, former member of the Islamic Republic Parliament and former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran during the Tehran hostage crisis, was in the United States. A source at an Iranian emigre paper revealed that Yazdi's U.S. trip schedule includes visits with U.S. government officials. This paper called Ibrahim Yazdi a businessman and adds that he is a member of the Freedom Movement. He has recently been permitted to initiate political activities by the despotic government of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeyni.

The State Department spokesman, Michael Austrian, emphasized that Yazdi was not on an official mission and that he was coming to the U.S. to visit his family. He said it is unlikely Yazdi will even visit Washington. Austrian refused to reveal where Yazdi would stay during his trip to the U.S. nor what relatives he was going to meet. A former partner of Yazdi in a U.S. factory reported that Yazdi will visit the U.S. on 14 April as head of a mission and participate in a medical seminar. Neither the date and location of the seminar nor the names of the members of the mission are mentioned in this short report. In this regard, the State Department spokesman persistently rejected this report and stated that he was not informed at all about Yazdi being the head of a medical mission. From the other side, the Iranian mission in the United Nations unprecedentedly and completely unexpectedly announced that Yazdi had come to the United States for a 40 day visit and which did not have any official designation.

In its report, the WASHINGTON POST added that the Youth Monarchist Organization, another anti-Khomeyni regime group and supporters of the son of the late Shah, has expressed doubt about reports that Yazdi not having any

official mission. In light of the present situation in Iran, the departure of a person like Yazdi to the U.S. cannot be viewed as an ordinary matter.

The spokesman of this group added: "Based on information received from inside sources in Iran, as the head of a 5 man mission, Yazdi will travel to the U.S. to meet with U.S. officials. He arrived in Washington National Airport on an Eastern flight from New York last Wednesday afternoon." The speaker of this group emphasized that Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, the speaker of the Majlis, personally approved permission for Yazdi to leave Iran. This speaker also added: "During his trip to the United States, Yazdi will ask America not to prevent the sale of U.S. arms to Iran in order to stop Iran from purchasing arms from the Soviets." Yazdi is a member of a moderate political group under the leadership of Mehdi Bazargan, the former prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

9815/13104
CSO: 4640/320

IRAN

'VIOLENCE, CORRUPTION' SAID DOMINANT IN COUNTRY

Violence at Meeting

London KEYHAN in Persian 22 May 86 p 6

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] Engineer Bazargan and his friends were beaten in Behesht Zahra. This is not the first time that members of the Freedom Movement were attacked by the same agents of the revolutionary government which is still accepted by the Freedom Movement leader and he only suggests the reform of its deviations in order for it to head in the correct direction.

Today, like the other people of Iran, Mr Bazargan is tasting the bitter fruit of the revolution. The only difference between him and the other people of Iran is that he is hopeful that the bitter tree of the Islamic revolution with its bitter mould, will one day finally drop sweet fruit on his lap.

Now is not the time to discuss whether this expectation is reasonable. We only refer to the fact that at present, the tangible reality, yes, the most tangible reality of the Islamic Republic--the very same mace-bearer--is plundering the people's property, infringing freedoms, and restricting and obliterating even those rights granted to the nation in its constitution.

The reaction of the Islamic Republic officials in regard to Bazargan's complaint is very surprising and should indeed be heard. It is said that the Freedom Movement held the ceremony for the anniversary of its establishment without permission in Behesht Zahra. The question is: If an organization which is officially recognized by the government arranges a ceremony without permission, should armed people be permitted to beat up its members? In this government of pressure, is it acceptable that in daylight, a group of armed people without government permission, invade one of the most crowded and busy public places of Tehran and severely injure several people and then leave?

The Ministry of Interior either knows who these people are or does not. If it is true that they are not aware who these people are, it must be mentioned that there are still some armed people beyond the control of the government. In order for the ministry to lie, which is more probable, it must be mentioned that the Ministry of Interior has a phantom armed military force under its control and can use it any time it finds it necessary against those who have proclaimed their loyalty several times to the Islamic Republic constitution.

Why mix two completely separate matters at all? Even if a group holds a ceremony without permission, it is the duty of the government officials to act to prevent the demonstration. But since the government officials refrained from doing so, is it acceptable that the angry um'mat of Hezbollah act like a government-within-a-government?

What does the Islamic Republic Ministry of Interior want to prove? Do they want to prove the point that the Freedom Movement ceremony was held without permission? Or, since the ceremony was held without permission, that an armed group, apparently illegal, was justified to arrest those already known, drag them to a secluded area and beat them as much as they could?

We are not addressing the Ministry of Interior, the committees, or the phantom military forces (apparently illegal) of the Islamic Republic. We are addressing Engineer Bazargan. Is he still hopeful that this wall, whose first brick was laid crooked, will finally one day stand straight and improve its way? Will a system whose public prosecutor complains about the law and constantly refers to the revolutionary nation and asks it, without any fear from legal officials, to set foot on the law, be able to show a streak of righteousness?

This Republic is the legitimate child of that revolution. It is universally not disintegrateable. One must either fight its totality or accept it totally. Those who imagine that they will be able to separate its good elements from the blameworthy ones and from those good elements, establish an acceptable and humane government system must realize once and for all that unjustified lies, corruption and hypocrisy are the most affirmed reality of this regime. For corruption that is everywhere, there is no other way than a campaign which is against it everywhere.

Corruption Noted

London KEYHAN in Persian 22 May 86 p 6

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

There is not a day that the Islamic Republic controlled press does not publish a report about corruption, theft, bribery, foreign currency smuggling and forging of government documents.

Most of these reports are related to the revolutionary organs which most officials of the regime have a hand in.

This is just a small part of the total corruption which finds its way to the press. There are no reports in the press about the misuse of arms deals and government purchases except what is circulated mouth-to-mouth.

When people notice in such a chaos of plunder that their political leaders, who usually also claim religious leadership, are so involved in establishing corporations or playing the games of the import-export companies, they will try

to make the very best for themselves too. Does opposing the separation of religion from politics mean mixing religion and politics in trade also?

Certainly, there is no doubt that with the establishment of the Republic, the existing corruption has become more democratic. Unlike the past, where a few hundred or a few thousand had exclusively participated, now hundreds of thousands have a hand in plundering the country and at the same time, plunder opportunities have spread more than before, since in the era of the Republic, one cannot survive without giving bribes.

We know that any revolution intensifies its existing trends in its society and atmosphere and will produce a logical result from them. Having the tendency for corruption is not excluded from this rule. But the long term danger confronting the Iranian people today is that the corruption which was improper in the past, is gradually not only being accepted but has become a natural part of our social life.

The biggest ill-treatment of the Islamic Republic to our homeland is not the massacre of hundreds of thousands of the best children of our nation, driving away hundreds of thousands of experienced and patriotic Iranians, destroying Iran's industry and making our nation's economy increasingly dependent on foreigners day by day.

The basic damage inflicted by the Republic on our country is the devastation of our moral values and providing religious excuses for all kinds of offenses and crimes, from bribe-taking to the distribution of cigarettes and vegetable oil in the mosques to the torture of innocent men and women in the name of Islam and revolution.

Therefore, one of the most essential duties of the opposed jurists is the decisive and sincere defense of those values; without them, the society does not have any resort, except to sink in the cesspool of corruption.

To save Iran and return it to the level of the advanced and civilized nations, each counter-republic must today be like a firm fortress which preserves a part of the spiritual and cultural values of our nation.

It is said that when corruption in a society increases more than 50 percent, it will change to an existing social system and must not be called corruption any more.

One can talk about corruption in a society, when its fundamental body is healthy and is determined and able to distinguish the slightest signs of corruption and to fight against it.

In today's Iran, is the fundamental body of the society healthy? It is a difficult question and we do not have a decisive answer to it. But when we bear in mind that Iranian society, at least in the cities, is everywhere involved in the black market, rationing, using connections and all sorts of wheeling and dealing, we can imagine that we are not very far from the dangerous boundaries.

In order to charm its supporters, the Islamic Republic knowingly and intentionally has misused its economic power and has distributed its goods and given its various services to them. The people related to the various revolutionary organizations are all invited to the table of corruption since they have been given privileges that other fellow citizens do not have. Even to obtain a pack of cigarettes in the Islamic Republic might require wheeling and dealing and confirmation of the theocratic rule.

In most cities, they have changed the mosques to supermarkets which are used for giving social bribes. In fact, the message of the Republic is 'Be corrupt in order to survive.'

Many of the famous personalities of the Republic's leadership in recent years have become apparent objects of corruption. Announcements in regard to the formation of various companies indicate that the officials of the regime, from the president, prime minister, speaker of the Majlis, to the Friday Imams of the different cities are members. It is probable that the masses of people do not see these announcements since they do not read the official newspaper of the State, but the news of the formation of these companies and their activities will travel and be transmitted mouth-to-mouth or heart-to-heart and everyone will be aware of it.

9815/12274

CSO: 4640/319

PAKISTAN

REGIME'S DETERMINATION TO COMBAT BHUTTO POPULARITY DISCUSSED

Karachi JANG in Urdu 18 May 86 pp 3,8

[Article by Professor Waris Mir: "Generals Are Cool and Collected"]

[Excerpts] When Ayub Khan's government became unpopular, Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's People's Party [PPP] became prominent among other opposition parties. Bhutto's detractors said two things against him: 1) He wanted to be engaged in "solo-politics," i.e., he did not want to cooperate with anyone. 2) He had no plans to guide the nation to a better life. He was merely power-hungry. In answer to these accusations Bhutto said: "I am not power mad. I do not believe in elections because no tyrants can be ousted through elections. Only popular revolution can do that. The ballot has power only in democracy. It is useless against dictatorship. This does not mean that we should not participate in the coming elections. We should take part in them. When Miss Fatima Jinnah took part in politics the people were with her. She was defeated but if she had not taken part in the elections the nation would have suffered. All the enthusiasm that you see around you was generated when she dared to take part in the elections. Our participation in the elections will cause another breach in the wall of the stronghold of dictatorship." (Hyderabad convention, 21 September 1968).

The explanations that Miss Benazir Bhutto is giving about her political attitude are similar to those given by Mr Bhutto to explain his political aspirations. Her critics say that she does not want to cooperate with the other political parties of the MRD (Movement for Restoration of Democracy.) She, they say, thinks the PPP to be the only political party that matters and the others are merely following it to keep themselves alive. Benazir has said more than once that she is willing to cooperate with other parties but is against a coalition of the MRD for the elections. If, she says, elections are not held now, as she desires, she will not back out of politics, but will begin a long democratic campaign to achieve her purpose. We do not know how far this lady leading the PPP has prepared herself for a long democratic struggle. If she has not made any preparations so far, it is time for her to start doing so at once. Mr Bhutto had to go through a very hard struggle to come into power. From organizing the party and taking his message to the masses to making friends with militarymen, he had to fight at several political fronts. He had to struggle hard, but not long.

Benazir has inherited a ready-made but battered political party. Her struggle is going to be harder than her father's. The regime has yet shown only a few of the cards it is going to play to prevent her from coming into power. Khar and Jatoi have not yet reached Pakistan. Those who want to take advantage of the inner conflicts of the People's Party are moving cautiously. The "guru" of the separatist Sindhis has not yet been brought in the field. They have not yet started to use against her the denunciations of the religious scholars. The scheme for her character assassination, too, has been postponed. But soon several Khawaja Khairuddins will come into the field, and start investing amazing stories to prove Benazir to be an uncultured, unprincipled, conceited and impulsive girl. Efforts will be made to aggravate the misunderstandings existing between the veterans of the PPP and the MRD. In short, attacks will be made on Benazir's political campaign from within as well as from outside the People's Party. There is another danger, this one from Benazir herself. Suppose the regime succeeds, temporarily let us say, in defeating her purpose of coming into power quickly, will she still go on struggling for the security, unity, stability and the bright future of Pakistan? Will she not succumb to the lure of regionalism and join the extremists who indulge in negative sloganeering?

Does she only want to overthrow the present regime or has she a better political system to offer? What are the salient features of that system? Has she made the necessary preparation for her job? If she wants a true revolution she must learn a lesson from current history. People who achieve very quick political power generally fall just as quickly. Their descent is faster than their ascent. The veterans of her own party are saying that the struggle for the Chinese revolution started in 1927 and Mao won his final victory in 1949. The Russians had to fight for their revolution. The Vietnamese had to go through a major war for that purpose. Iran's revolution is happening before our eyes. Europe went through 30 to 35 revolutions between 1832 and 1848. Every revolution is followed by an anti-revolution. In the words of Dr Mubashar, a change that cannot be sustained is very harmful. In our opinion, even for a small change, even for the change of one individual on the political scene, a lot of planning is required. Otherwise, it will cause nothing but harm. Benazir's stormy campaign, for all its pomp and show, has no revolutionary aim before it. At present its target is the change of government. Some people call it pragmatism.

Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo, too, is pragmatic. He has said that if the nation insists, he can order a referendum, but just now, he thinks, a referendum is not called for. President Ziaul Haq says that the prime minister cannot give such an order before 1990. Only in the case of an emergency, he says, can the prime minister give such an order 2 or 3 months before or after the time appointed for the elections. The prime minister says that the Muslim League will be able to compete with the People's Party in the elections of 1990. He has brushed aside any possibility of another period of martial law. The president says that he wants to play only cricket on the political field. If anybody tries to change the decent game of cricket to the rough game of hockey he would impose martial law again. The prime minister wants to take the credit for lifting the martial law but the president wants to take the credit of reimposing it. This very

president, mind you, has said it time and again that Pakistan cannot survive a fourth martial law. We heartily wish the chief of the Pakistan Army to be inspired by the deepest sentiments of nationalism without being carried away by his emotions. We wonder if any of the periods of military rule we have been through were dictated by force of circumstances or merely resulted from somebody's uncontrolled emotions? Were they the result of an external threat? But our president is not being threatened by anybody; he is threatening the nation himself.

So far we can only say about our prime minister that he is never carried away by his emotions. We hope he will keep his equanimity in the future, too. Our neighbor, India, presents a very good example of self restraint. In many provinces of that country there has been great lawlessness. Their prime minister has been murdered. Have they even thought of imposing martial law in their country? Despite the death of thousands of people, their government held elections in Punjab. In Sri Lanka, despite guerrilla warfare, nobody has ever thought of military rule. Iran has been in a state of war for 6 years, but never has their military thought of taking charge, nor have the elections been postponed. In Pakistan at this moment every leader and every party is trying to browbeat the others. Did the president use the threat of imposing martial law again after consulting his colleagues or did he say it for himself? In any case, we should remember that a fourth martial law can give birth to another Bangladesh. India has been waiting for such an opportunity for a long time.

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PAKISTAN

DEMAND FOR EARLY ELECTIONS SEEN HARMFUL

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 28 Apr 86 p 3

[Editorial: "Whither Pakistan?"]

[Text] Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo has said that with the lifting of martial law, the lid has been taken off the boilingpot of politics to let off steam. A few days earlier the president had said that the steam bursts out when the lid is taking off a boiling pot. Both were referring to the commotion that marks the political scene in the country these days. It is a fact that, not only during the 8.5 years of martial law but even during the so-called people's rule, people were deprived of the freedom of speech. Those who dared to speak did so at the risk of their lives. The 6 years of "people's rule" was the worst period of repression, when democratic leaders were all in jails. The election of 1977 proved to be the last election. The regime gave its candidates full freedom to win the elections by any crooked means at their disposal. When the people rebelled against this highhandedness and refused to accept the results of the elections, even the then prime minister had to confess that things had not gone as they should have. But now his daughter is denying that anything ever went wrong, that any cheating or corruption was practiced. But she is denying a lot besides. Well, we are glad the steam has been let off after 15 years. The credit for easing the situation goes to the prime minister. The steam has been released, now it is up to the politicians and the political parties to make some use of this powerful steam. The power of this steam can be used to draw the train of the nation to a cherished destination; on the other hand it can be left free to burn everything around it. This steam can turn into a cloud that would bring prosperity to the land; it can also cause a deluge that would drown everything in its way.

Every thinking mind in the country is trying to puzzle out a single question: What is the country heading for? What are some of the political parties up to? Last year, though the elections took place on a nonparty basis, the people participated in them because they wanted to be rid of martial law in any way. As the result of those elections, 1986 brought us civil government. As a result of civil government, there is no restriction on political meetings or processions. We have got the freedoms that were denied us even during "the people's rule." As a result of this freedom the oppressors are posing as victims of oppression. New elections are being demanded by those

who have never had elections within their own party: Probably that is why the president said recently at Karachi that those who demand new elections should first face the nation and expose their own geneology. But Pakistanis have always been an oppressed people. They have always been ruled by those who had no right to rule them. They have never dared to ask a new ruler about his credentials. They have never asked such people how they had served the nation in the past and by what right they wanted to be rulers in the future. Even Ziaul Haq, when he took the reins of government in his hands in July 1977 did so without proving his right to rule the country. Now that a political party that has failed the nation in the past tries to come back in power, we have every right to ask: What did the rule of your party give the nation in the past? Why do you expect us to make the same mistake twice?

As time passes, Miss Benazir Bhutto's words, as well as tone, are growing more and more challenging. She is trying to cause an upheaval in the land. People who thought they would now have democracy at last, are worrying if they would have to go through another election? Will the next election take place now or in 1990? What will be its outcome? Above all they are worried about some thoughtless elements in the country making trouble and causing another spell of martial law. Even the foreign media are spending much time trying to figure out the political future of Pakistan. Consciously or unconsciously the foreign media are encouraging dissidents to follow the path of rebellion. Very innocently, they say that when the dissidents become aggressive Zia will clamp down martial law again. Then they say: When meetings and processions do not bring her into power Benazir Bhutto will start civil disobedience. Indirectly these media are instigating the regime as well as the dissidents to clash with each other. These media can have no sympathy for Pakistan or its people, but some elements in this country have been paying much attention to their insinuations. They are now echoing what the foreign media have been saying. All this will only lead to a state of uncertainty in the country. It will lead to no good. Those who are following the foreign media are the people who can flourish only in an undemocratic and unstable atmosphere. They do not want peace in the country. If we read the short and turbulent history of Pakistan, we find that democracy has never had a chance in this country. There have never been regular elections to give free play to democratic activity. Whenever elections did take place, the result was always disruption and chaos. Where is the justification for the demand for elections ahead of the schedule? If the demand is continued the results will not be pleasant for the country.

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PAKISTAN

FAIR CHANCE FOR JUNEJO ADMINISTRATION URGED

Karachi JANG in Urdu 16 May 86 p 3

[Editorial: "For Stable and Lasting Democracy"]

[Text] Jam Mir Ghulam Qadir, chief minister of Baluchistan, has said that as martial law came to an end the present regime wanted to introduce true democracy in the country, without imposing restrictions on anyone on the pretext of emergency. On Tuesday, in an interview he gave JANG at Quetta, he said with regret that some politicians are trying to instigate the people to come into conflict with the regime. If they cause any disturbance, he said, the government will not play the part of a silent spectator, but will take steps to protect the life and property of the public.

As far as the efforts of the present regime for the restoration of democracy are concerned, we can say categorically that they are sincerer than any such efforts made by any of the previous regimes. People have not yet forgotten the fears that were expressed at the time the prime minister made his proclamation at Lahore on 14 August 1985 about the lifting of martial law. It was said at that time that it was doubtful if martial law would be lifted at all, and that, if it was lifted, a state of emergency would remain in the country. Again it was said that if the constitution was restored, the articles on civil rights would be excluded. For the freedom of political activities, it was said that even if some sort of freedom were given to the political parties for awhile, it would be taken back under one pretext or another.

But facts have given a lie to all these fears. Every thing happened as the prime minister announced. Martial law was lifted, the constitution was restored and complete freedom was given to political activities. It is true that whatever this regime has given us was ours by rights, but which of the previous regimes had given us our rights? The processions and the political meetings are a living proof of the fact that democracy has been restored. The prime minister's declaration that there would be no restrictions on political activities, though not unheard of in other democratic countries, was unique in our own. We should give the present regime all the credit it deserves. When the prime minister reminds us that our basic liberties have been restored, he is referring to the rights that even the so-called people's government was not able to give us.

We are neither the advocates nor the critics of the present regime. We only want to be fair and give praise where it belongs. In the future, if this regime does anything undemocratic, we shall give it the full measure of criticism. Just now there is no reason to doubt that this government not only wants to establish democratic rule but also wants to strengthen democratic institutions. At the same time, let us hope that all the political parties would pay heed to their national duties and refrain from a show of such irresponsible behavior that would compel the government to take the extreme steps to which the chief minister of Baluchistan referred in his speech.

Considering the democratic leanings of the Junejo government, let us hope that they too will try to solve political problems in the political field without resorting to any undemocratic methods.

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PAKISTAN

INDIA RAPPED FOR OBJECTIONS TO KARAKORAM HIGHWAY OPENING

Karachi JANG in Urdu 16 May 86 p 3

[Text] According to the information received from Beijing, the People's Republic of China has rejected India's protest against the opening of the Khunjerab Pass to foreign tourists. The spokesman for the Chinese Foreign Ministry said that China and Pakistan are two sovereign countries with a common border, and a third party has no right to interfere in their mutual relations. In fact, bringing baseless accusations against their neighbors and interfering in their internal affairs has become a habit with the Indian rulers. They raised a hue and cry when the construction of the Karakoram Highway started, and even called it China's and Pakistan's conspiracy against India. Countries all over the world, including India and Pakistan, have road connections with their neighbors. Why should China and Pakistan not have a road connection between their two countries? The Karakoram Highway has long served as a commercial highway between China and the regions now called Pakistan. In former days, it was known as the Silk Road. The spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry was quite right in saying that a third party has no right to criticize what is being done. This highway, besides being proof of the ideal friendship between China and Pakistan, is a masterpiece of modern engineering. Being a road built through arduous mountain ranges about 16,000 miles above sea-level it can be called the eighth wonder of the modern world. On the other hand, India has wrongfully occupied Pakistan's portion of the Sia-chen Glacier and embittered her relations with Pakistan. She has caused a grave danger for China, Pakistan, and foreign tourists by erecting a permanent military post above the Karakoram Highway. The Indian Government should be given a stern protest against it.

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PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

WHEAT PRODUCTION EXCEEDS TARGET--Associated Press of Pakistan, quoting an agricultural expert in Islamabad, said that the country's wheat production this year has exceeded the target of 13.3 million metric tons by about 1 million metric tons as a result of a better wheat crop in Punjab as well as in rain-fed areas of the country. [Excerpt] [Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 0200 GMT 12 Jun 86 BK] /7051

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ix